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OF THE

MINNESOTA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

V. 10, PT. 1

VOLUME X. PART I.

10
Pt. 1
1900-04

ST. PAUL, MINN.:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
FEBRUARY, 1905.

1707578

Printed by
Great Western Printing Company
Minneapolis, Minn.

Gift of Society, St. Paul, Minn., June 11, 1906.

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PREFACE.

This volume, comprising papers and addresses presented before this Society during the past five years, is so large that it has been found necessary to bind it in two parts, which are consecutively paged. At the beginning of each part, a table of its contents is given.

Part II has an index of the whole volume. It also contains an index of the authors and principal subjects in the series of these Volumes I to X, and a personal index of Volumes I to IX, both of which were compiled from the indexes of the several volumes. These general indexes will be very convenient for references to subjects and persons noticed in the entire series.

The papers published in these Historical Collections relate to the history of Minnesota and the Northwest. Several other papers of much value, but not dealing with our local history, have been presented within the past ten years in the meetings of this Society; and it seems desirable to record here the titles of these papers, with their dates and authors, as follows:

Observations in Japan, Corea, and China, during the Corean War in 1894, read December 14, 1896, by Lieut. John H. Beacom.

Causes, Objects, and Results of the Wars of the North American Colonies, read February 8, 1897, by Col. Philip Reade.

The Cartagena Expedition of Admiral Vernon in 1741, read May 10, 1897, by Capt. Charles W. Hall.

An Excursion in 1857 from Milwaukee to the Red River of the North, read October 11, 1897, from manuscripts of the late Dr. Increase A. Lapham.

The Hessian Auxiliaries in the North American War of Independence, a translation from the German of Colonel von Werthern, read March 14, 1898, by Captain William Gerlach.

Three Stages in the History of our Country,—Dependence, Independence, Interdependence, read April 18, 1898, by Dr. James K. Hosmer; published in the Atlantic Monthly, July, 1898.

Exhibits from Minnesota in the Crystal Palace Exposition at New York in 1853, read October 10, 1898, by Gen. William G. Le Duc.

The Southern Boundary of the Grant to the Hudson Bay Company, 1670-1811, read November 14, 1898, after the death of the author, Alfred J. Hill.

Two Years in Alaska, read May 14, 1900, by Lieut. Edwin Bell.

How Napoleon sold Louisiana, and fought a Great Battle about it which History has neglected, read September 10, 1900, by Dr. James K. Hosmer; published in 1902, as Chapter V, etc., of The History of the Louisiana Purchase.

Sites of Old Roman Camps in Germany recently identified, and the Battleground where Hermann defeated Varus in the Year 9 A. D., read November 12, 1900, by Hartwig Deppe.

History of the Mining Development of North Alaska and the Starvation Year 1897-98, read December 10, 1900, by Colonel P. Henry Ray.

The United States a Nation from the Declaration of Independence, read September 8, 1902, by Hon. James O. Pierce.

The address by Prof. David L. Kiehle, here forming pages 353-398, has been expanded and published under the title, "Education in Minnesota," as a book in two parts, the first historical, and the second treating of the school laws and sources of school support in this State.

Since the printing of the bibliography of publications relating to Groseilliers and Radisson, in pages 568-594, another work has appeared which should be added to the list. This is entitled "Pathfinders of the West," by Agnes C. Laut, published by the Macmillan Company, November, 1904. Chapters III and IV, forming pages 68-131, narrate the Third and Fourth Voyages, in which these explorers reached the area of Minnesota. The third voyage or expedition is assigned to the years 1658-1660, and the fourth to 1661-1663. In each of these expeditions, Groseilliers and Radisson are thought by this author, as in her article previously published in Leslie's Magazine, to have traveled far beyond Minnesota, going through the Dakotas, and perhaps into Montana, during the first expedition, and in the second going past the region of the Lake of the Woods to the Sioux in North Dakota.

In many other respects this work differs widely from the views stated in Part II of the present volume. With the many and discordant opinions cited in the Bibliography, it indicates the need of careful studies of Radisson's own writings, by which probably historians will some day come to a better agreement concerning the routes and dates of these explorations.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

	Page.
History of Wheat Raising in the Red River Valley, by Hon. George N. Lamphere	1-33
Description of the Red River valley	1
Wheat raising in the Selkirk settlement	2
Early flouring mills; grasshoppers	7
First mail route	9
Steamboats on the Red river	10
First wheat raising near the Pembina river	11
Pioneer farmers near Moorhead and Fargo	12
Early wheat raising near Fort Abercrombie	19
Development by railroads	20
The Dalrymple farm	21
The Grandin farm	22
Increase of population and wealth	23
Causes of occasional failures	23
Better and more diversified cultivation needed	25
Railroad freight rates and legislation	25
Old and new methods of wheat farming	28
Wheat production and its value, 1898	29
Letter from Hon. Charles Cavalier	32
Greatness of the resources of Minnesota	32
History of Flour Manufacture in Minnesota, by Col. George D. Rogers	35-55
Progress in methods of milling	35
The government mill of 1823	37
The first custom mills	38
Earliest merchant mill and export	39
The first mill corporation	39
Milling at Northfield	40
The fame of Archibald	41
The Gardner mill at Hastings	41
"Honest John" Kearcher	42
Rise and fall of Minnetonka Mills	43
Statistics of 1859-60	43
Milling in 1870	44
Birth of the "new process"	45
Effect upon wheat and flour production	47

Page.
The La Croixs of Faribault 47
Gradual reduction by rolls 49
The mill explosion of 1878..... 51
Minnesota flour export trade 52
Minnesota mills in 1900 54

THE EARLY GOVERNMENT LAND SURVEYS IN MINNESOTA WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, by HON. THOMAS SIMPSON..... 57-67
System of government surveys..... 57
Convergency of meridians 59
Guide meridians and standard parallels..... 60
Surveys in southeastern Minnesota, 1853-55..... 61
Castle rock and the Zumbro river..... 64
The Winnebago Indians 65
Personal reminiscences 66

SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY OF HUTCHINSON, by HON. WILLIAM W. PENDERGAST 69-89
Founding of the town by the Hutchinson singers..... 69
Adoption of a constitution 73
Pioneer reminiscences 74
The Fourth of July, 1856..... 77
Cost of living in the winter of 1857-58..... 77
First town meeting 77
Steamboat navigation..... 78
Scarcity of food 78
Mail carriers 78
The Sioux outbreak 78
The attack at Hutchinson 80
Retreat and council of the Sioux..... 84
Murder of German settlers west of Hutchinson 85
Service of the Hutchinson guards..... 87
The killing of Little Crow..... 88

EARLY STEAMBOATING ON THE MINNESOTA AND RED RIVERS, by CAPTAIN EDWIN BELL..... 91-100
St. Paul and its vicinity in 1850..... 91
Steamboating on the Minnesota river..... 92
Recollections of the Red River of the North..... 93
Scenes at Fort Garry in 1859..... 97
The return by ox train to St. Paul..... 98
Incidents of the Sioux outbreak..... 99

THE TREATY OF TRAVERSE DES SIOUX IN 1851, UNDER GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY, WITH NOTES OF THE FORMER TREATY THERE, IN 1841, UNDER GOVERNOR JAMES D. DOTY, OF WISCONSIN, by THOMAS HUGHES 101-129

Page.
The treaty of Governor Doty, 1841 101
Motives leading to the treaty of 1851 102
Preliminaries of the treaty 103
Goodhue, the journalist, and Mayer, the artist 107
The treaty council 108
Signing the treaty 110
The traders' paper 111
Speeches and presents 111
White men present 111
Duplicate treaty at Mendota 112
The lands ceded 112
Payments and reservations for the Sioux 112
Amendment of the treaty by the senate 113
Disbursement of the first payment 114
The claims of the traders 114
Investigation by order of the senate 115
Later negotiations concerning the reservations 115
The Sioux massacre, 1862 116
Results of the treaty 116
The purposes of the earlier treaty in 1841 119
Newspaper comments on the Doty treaty 119
Governor Doty and Le Sueur's copper mine on the Blue Earth river 126
Place of the treaty 126

History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River, by Thomas Hughes 131-163
Earliest navigation by white men 132
Earliest steamboats 133
Excursions in the year 1850 134
The treaty of 1851, and ensuing immigration 137
Steamboat traffic, 1852 to 1871 138
The last steamboats, 1872 to 1897 157
Lists of steamboats, 1850 to 1897 158

Missionary Work at Red Wing, 1849 to 1852, by Rev. Joseph W. Hancock 165-178
Farewell to the old home, and the journey west 166
Arrival at Red Wing 166
Earlier missionaries to the Dakotas 167
School for the Indian children 168
Removal to Long Prairie 169
A government Indian school 170
The voyage of return to Red Wing 171
Life at the Indian village 173
Evil effects of whiskey 174

Page.
The Dakota dictionary 176
The treaty of 1851, from the Indian standpoint..... 177

History of Fort Ripley, 1849 to 1859, based on the Diary of Rev. Solon W. Manney, D. D., Chaplain of this Post from 1851 to 1859, by Rev. George C. Tanner.....179-202
Journey from Milwaukee to Fort Ripley..... 179
Early life of Dr. Manney..... 180
Location and building of Fort Ripley..... 181
The vicinity northward to Gull lake 183
Early life of Enmegahbowh 184
Commandants of Fort Ripley 185
The chaplain and his diary 185
Weather records 187
The mission of St. Columba, at Gull lake..... 188
Life at the fort 190
Journeys to Leech and Otter Tail lakes..... 190
Attempted journey to Lake Superior 192
Temporary withdrawal of the garrison 193
Ensuing troubles with the Ojibways..... 193
The reserve and fort offered for sale..... 196
The diocese of Minnesota organized 196
Founding of schools at Faribault 196
Disturbances at Crow Wing and Little Falls..... 197
Founding of Fort Abercrombie 199
The last year of the chaplaincy 199
Dr. Manney's work in the Faribault schools..... 200
Ordination of Enmegahbowh in Faribault..... 201

Early Episcopal Churches and Missions in Minnesota, by Rev. George C. Tanner 203-231
The first Sunday school 203
Rev. E. G. Gear, chaplain of Fort Snelling..... 203
Rev. E. A. Greenleaf in the St. Croix valley..... 208
Earliest Episcopal services in St. Paul..... 210
Founding the Associate Mission 210
The later work of Father Gear..... 212
St. Paul selected as a center for mission work..... 214
The first Episcopal church at St. Anthony..... 221
Beginning of services for Scandinavians 222
Building of Ascension Church, in Stillwater..... 223
Visitation by Bishop Kemper in St. Paul..... 223
Rev. James Lloyd Breck in the Ojibway mission..... 225
Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson, rector of Christ Church..... 225
Subsequent itinerant work 228

Page.

The Chapel of St. Paul, and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Minnesota, by Rev. Ambrose McNulty.....233-245
Visit by Bishop Loras in 1839..... 234
Galtier, the first priest 235
The first chapel 237
Father Ravoux 240
Pictures of the chapel 241
Bishop Cretin 242
Later cathedrals 242
The first sisters 243
The first hospital 244
Relics of the old chapel 244

Minnesota Journalism in the Territorial Period, by Daniel S. B. Johnston 247-351

First Paper, 1849 to 1854.....247-276
The first newspaper and its editor..... 247
The Minnesota Chronicle 253
The Minnesota Register 253
Nathaniel M'Lean 254
John P. Owens 255
The Dakota Friend 256
The Minnesota Democrat 256
The Pioneer and Democrat 257
Colonel D. A. Robertson 258
David Olmsted 258
The Watab Reveille 259
The St. Anthony Express 260
Hon. Isaac Atwater 261
George D. Bowman 261
D. S. B. Johnston 262
The Minnesotian 263
Dr. Thomas Foster 264
J. Fletcher Williams 265
The Northwestern Democrat 266
W. Augustus Hotchkiss 266
Joseph R. Brown 267
Earle S. Goodrich 268
James Mills 268
Louis E. Fisher 269
The boom of 1854 269
The Minnesota Times 270
Thomas M. Newson 270
The Minnesota Republican 271
Rev. Charles G. Ames 271

Page.
The St. Paul Financial and Real Estate Advertiser..... 272
Joseph A. Wheelock 272
The St. Croix Union 272
The Winona Argus 273
William Ashley Jones 273
Captain Sam Whiting 274
Summary, 1849 to 1854..... 274

SECOND PAPER, 1855 276-290
St. Peter's Courier 277
John C. Stoever 278
Andrew J. Morgan 278
Sauk Rapids Frontierman 279
Jeremiah Russell 279
Henry P. Pratt 279
Red Wing Sentinel, No. 1 280
William Colvill, Jr..... 280
Southern Minnesota Herald 281
Charles Brown 282
The Winona Weekly Express 283
The St. Paul Free Press 283
A. C. Smith 284
Shakopee Independent 284
Martin Phillips 285
The Winona Republican 285
Daniel Sinclair 286
Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung 286
Albert Wolff 289
Immigration 289

THIRD PAPER, 1856 290-309
The Fillmore County Pioneer 291
Charles J. Henniss 291
The Henderson Democrat 292
H. H. Young 292
A Territorial roll of honor 293
Dakota Weekly Journal 294
James C. Dow 295
Martin Williams 295
The Minnesota Gazette 295
A pioneer poll list..... 296
Wabasha Journal, No. 1 297
The Preston Journal 297
Owatonna Watchman and Register 298
Cannon Falls Gazette 298
Stillwater Messenger, No. 1 299
Andrew J. Van Vorhes 300

Page.
Republican Advocate 301
Chatfield Democrat, No. 1 301
The Rice County Herald 302
The Chatfield Republican 302
Hon. Henry W. Holley 303
Orville Brown 303
The Northern Herald 304
Parker H. French 305
An independent editor 305
The Faribault Herald 306
R. A. Mott 306
The Monticello Journal 307
The Oronoco Courier 307
The Carimona Telegraph 308
Summary, 1856 308

FOURTH PAPER, JANUARY 1ST TO AUGUST 25TH, 1857.....309-329
Cured of townsite fever 309
Lake City Tribune 311
The Minnesota Advertiser 312
George F. Brott 312
Hyrorum Rapids 313
The Olmsted County Journal 313
The Waumadee Herald 314
The Western Transcript 315
The Monticello Times 315
The Minnesota Free Press 317
The Minnesota Thalboten 317
Minnesota National Demokrat 318
The Mankato Independent 318
The Emigrant Aid Journal 319
The Hokah Chief 319
The Southern Minnesota Star 320
The Mantorville Express 321
John Earle Bancroft 322
The Wasioja Gazette 322
Squire L. Pierce 323
Red Wing Sentinel, No. 2..... 323
William W. Phelps..... 325
The Rochester Democrat 325
The Cannon Falls Bulletin 325
The Hastings Independent 326
Columbus Stebbins 326
The Glencoe Register, No. 1 327
Colonel John H. Stevens 328
Summary to August 25th, 1857 329

Page.
FIFTH PAPER, AUGUST 25TH, 1857, TO MAY 11TH, 1858.....329-351
The Financial crash of 1857 331
The Red Wing Republican 331
Lucius F. Hubbard 332
The Wabasha County Herald 333
The Falls Evening News 336
William A. Croffut 337
Chatfield Democrat, No. 2 339
The Traverse Des Sioux Reporter 340
James J. Green 340
The Bancroft Pioneer 341
David Blakeley 341
The Belle Plaine Inquirer 342
Folkets Rost (People's Voice) 343
The New Ulm Pioneer 343
The St. Cloud Visitor 344
Jane Grey Swisshelm 346
The Winona Times 347
The Minneapolis Gazette 347
The Rochester Free Press 348
The Shakopee Reporter 349
The Northfield Journal 349
The Hastings Daily Ledger 349
The final result 349

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MINNESOTA, by PROF. DAVID L. KIEHLE, LL. D 353-398
The Territorial period 354
Denominational schools 355
The public school system 356
The administration of school funds 358
State aid to education 359
Special rural and semi-graded schools 360
Libraries 361
State supervision of education 361
County supervision 364
Improvement of teachers 365
Normal schools 366
Qualifications of teachers 367
Higher education 368
Financial history of the state university 369
John S. Pillsbury, regent of the university 372
The beginnings of university life..... 372
The presidency of William W. Folwell 373
The presidency of Cyrus Northrop 374
The support of the university 375

Page.
Buildings of the university 376
Industrial education 376
The agricultural college 376
The new experimental farm 379
The school of agriculture 380
Professional departments 381
Department of pedagogy 381
Secondary education 383
State high schools 384
Graded schools 386
Semi-graded and rural schools 386
Schools for defectives 387
School for dependent and neglected children 390
Conclusion 391
Tables and statistics 393
Bibliography 398

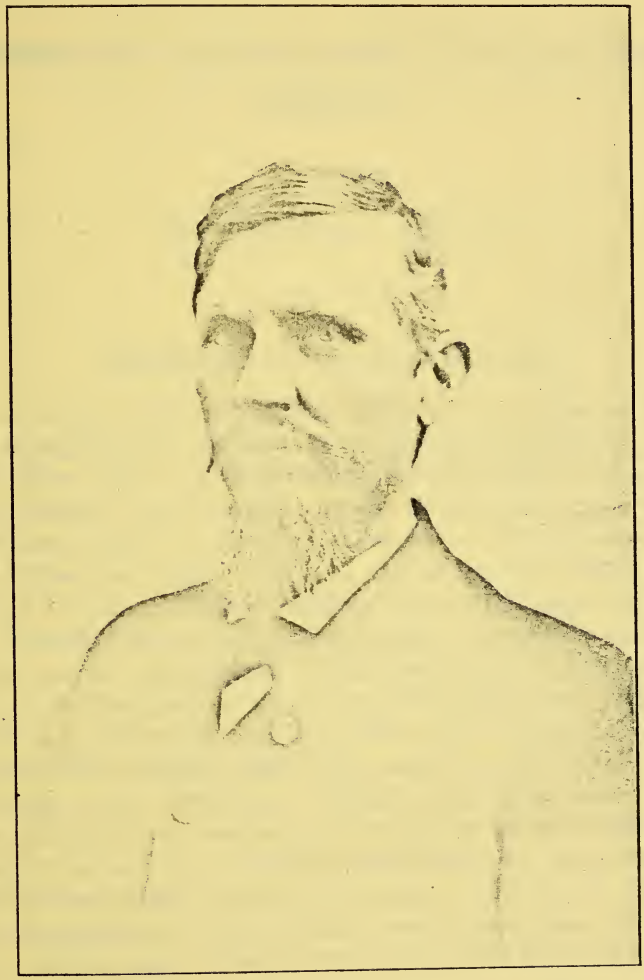
History of the St. Paul & Sioux City Railroad, 1864-1881, by Gen. Judson W. Bishop 399-415
Minnesota Valley railroad company 399
St. Paul and Sioux City railroad company 401
Importance of the Minnesota river 401
Other railroads and land grants 402
The route from Mankato to Sioux City 403
The grasshopper scourge 407
Extension of this railway system 411
Organization of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha railway company 413
Retrospect 414

Sketches of the Early History of Real Estate in St. Paul, by Henry S. Fairchild 417-443
Early real estate sales 418
Increase in values 420
First legal titles in St. Paul proper 423
The grand old pioneers 427
A vision of the future 429
The platting of additions 431
Real estate agents 433
Rivalry between the upper and the lower town 434
Land disputes settled by unique methods 436
Some of St. Paul's loyal eulogists 438
The present and past builders of the city 441

The First Railroad in Minnesota, by Col. William Crooks 445-448

ILLUSTRATIONS OF PART I.

		Page.
PLATE I.	Portrait of Hon. George N. Lamphere	1
II.	Portrait of Hon. Thomas Simpson	57
III.	Portrait of Hon. William W. Pendergast	69
IV.	Portrait of Captain Edwin Bell	91
V.	Portrait of Rev. Joseph W. Hancock	165
VI.	Portrait of Rev. Solon W. Manney	179
VII.	Portrait of Rev. George C. Tanner	203
VIII.	Portrait of Father Galtier, and the Chapel of St. Paul	233
IX.	Portrait of Daniel S. B. Johnston	247
X.	Portrait of Prof. David L. Kiehle	353
XI.	Portrait of Gen. Judson W. Bishop	399
XII.	Portrait of Henry S. Fairchild	417



George N. Lamphere

HISTORY OF WHEAT RAISING IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY.*

BY HON. GEORGE N. LAMPHERE.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RED RIVER VALLEY.

I have not deemed it entirely relevant to my subject to discuss the topography, the geology, or the aboriginal inhabitants of the Red River valley. And for another reason than its relevancy, I have omitted any discussion thereof because they have heretofore been treated by the honored secretary of this Society, Warren Upham, in a paper read at its annual meeting in 1895 (Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. VIII, pages 11-24).

The Red River valley, as this term is commonly used, is a broad and flat prairie plain reaching ten to twenty miles on each side of the Red river of the North, having thus about half of its expanse in Minnesota and the other half in North Dakota. It extends three hundred miles from south to north, continuing in Manitoba to lake Winnipeg. Inclosed by the higher land on each side, and pent in at the north by the barrier of the receding ice-sheet at the end of the Glacial period, this valley plain was covered in that geologic epoch by a vast lake, which, with the complete disappearance of the ice-sheet, was drained away to Hudson bay. To this glacial lake Mr. Upham has given the name of Lake Agassiz; and its survey and description are the subject of a volume prepared by him and published by the United States Geological Survey. The closing chapters of that work should be consulted by any who seek information concerning the general ag-

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 8, 1900.

ricultural capabilities of this very fertile district, or concerning its water supply and its hundreds of artesian wells.

WHEAT RAISING IN THE SELKIRK SETTLEMENT.

The beginning of wheat raising in the Red River valley was in the Selkirk settlement north of the boundary line, near Fort Garry, now Winnipeg.

In 1811 the Earl of Selkirk purchased from the Hudson Bay Company a vast tract of land in Manitoba, including the land afterward occupied by the Selkirk settlement. The purchase was subject to the Indian claim to its title. About the time of this purchase there was a compulsory exodus of the inhabitants of the county of Sutherland, Scotland, from the estates of the Duchess of Sutherland; and Lord Selkirk took a large number of these evicted persons under his protection and forwarded them to settle on the land he had purchased on the Red river. They arrived on the bay in the fall of the year, and spent the winter at Churchill, on the western shore of the bay. In the following spring they advanced inland, crossed lake Winnipeg, and ascended the Red river of the North. They intended to make their home at the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red rivers, but on arriving there found that the X. Y. and the Northwest Companies of Canada, which were opponents of the Hudson Bay Company, regarded them as invaders and also as protégés of the latter. The Indians also objected to the cultivation of their hunting grounds, and were instigated to hostile proceedings against the new comers by the representations of the Canadian companies.

The year 1812 passed without any satisfactory progress being made toward settlement, and the immigrants spent the following winter in great distress at Pembina, whither they were driven by the Indians. By some means, however, they were able to mollify their opponents, and were permitted to return in the spring. They built log houses and began the cultivation of the land on the bank of the river. Within a year they were attacked by the partisans of the companies, who burnt their houses and killed some of their number. Afterward, being reinforced by a company of additional immigrants from Scotland, the settlers returned to the places from which they had been driven, and recommenced their labors. The

hostility of the companies toward these poor immigrants was continued, their property was destroyed and men were captured and killed. At length, on June 19, 1816, the adherents of the two parties met at Seven Oaks, in the center of the settlement, under such circumstances that a small battle occurred, in which about twenty men, among whom was Governor Semple, were killed.

In 1817 Lork Selkirk came over and visited the settlement. Besides having a desire to see how the settlers were prospering, he desired to negotiate for the extinguishment of the Indian title to the land he had purchased. After much difficulty he negotiated a treaty with the Chippewas and Crees, which treaty was signed July 18, 1817. The consideration was the annual payment of 200 pounds of tobacco, half to the Chippewas and half to the Crees. The conditions in the territory at this time were so wretched that the Canadian government interfered and appointed a commissioner to make investigation, who recommended an amicable settlement and a union of interests by the companies, which had been reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. It was a long time, however, before action was taken. Lord Selkirk died in 1821, and the Right Hon. Edward Ellice succeeded to his rights. He was one of the principal stockholders of the Northwest Company, and the Canadian government consulted with him and under its auspices he instituted negotiations, which, after many difficulties, resulted in a harmonious union between the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company, the latter having before combined with the X. Y. Company. This agreement went into effect in 1821, and from this date the opposition to the settlers was withdrawn.

Lord Selkirk, on his arrival in 1817, had provided the settlers with agricultural implements, seed grain, and other necessaries, but the season was so far advanced that little produce was grown in 1817 and a famine ensued. The people again returned to Pembina, where they passed the winter, subsisting as best they could on the produce of the chase. The next spring they went back to their lands, ploughed and seeded them, and entertained high hopes for a bountiful harvest, but were to be sorely disappointed, as an army of locusts made its appearance and in one night destroyed every vestige of verdure in the fields. The locusts left their eggs and in 1819 were more numerous than

in the preceding year, making agriculture impossible. The settlers again took refuge at Pembina, and Lord Selkirk imported 250 bushels of seed grain from the United States at an expense of £1,000, and this, which was sown in the spring of 1820, produced a plentiful crop in the autumn of that year. Thus it may be said that the first wheat that was ever successfully grown and harvested in the Red River valley was in the season of 1820 by the Selkirkers. I am principally indebted for the facts as above set forth to the book entitled "Red River," by J. J. Hargrave, printed by John Lovell, Montreal.

The methods of cultivation in the Selkirk settlement were rude and primitive. Their plow was English or Scotch, made all of iron from the tip of the beam to the end of the handles, and was ten or twelve feet long. Its share was shaped like a mason's trowel. With this drawn by one horse, enough ground was scratched every spring to raise sufficient wheat to feed all the blackbirds and pigeons in the Red River valley, and leave a surplus large enough to meet the wants of the people of the settlement; also to sell to the Hudson Bay Company all they needed for their outposts in the British Northwest possessions, and still leave a surplus sufficient for food and seed for two years, which was stored up to be used in case of emergency or failure of crop in the coming seasons. The grain was cut with sickles, the bundles tied with willow withes and stacked in the barnyard, to be flailed out during the winter and cleaned by the winds, men, and women and children all giving a helping hand in this work.

In August, 1851, Charles Cavalier arrived at Pembina. At that date the Red River valley, except the Selkirk settlement, was a howling waste throughout its whole length and breadth. Then there were only four white men in that section, namely, Norman W. Kittson, Joseph Rolette, George Morrison, and Charles Cavalier. There were 1,800 to 2,000 half-breeds, and Mr. Cavalier says that, as he was born among the Wyandotte Indians in Ohio and brought up near them, the Indians at Pembina were not much of a curiosity to him, but the half-breed was a new phase of the genus. "To this day," says he, "I have not fully made up my mind whether the cross between the white man and the red man was much of an improvement, as with but few exceptions the Indian blood predominates."

In those early days bread was a rarity, and pemmican, dried buffalo meat, fish and a few potatoes constituted the food supply. Charles Cavalier and Commodore N. W. Kittson planned a trip to the Selkirk settlement, where they were told they would find bread in abundance. They set out in the same year (1851) and in a day and a half's sail down the river in a canoe reached Fort Garry and St. Boniface, where they received a hospitable welcome from Vereck Marion, Mr. Kittson's father-in-law. They visited the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy and found them pleasant and agreeable gentlemen. They also visited the Sisters of Charity at the hospital, who gave them a warm welcome and showed them through the whole establishment. Kittson having returned to Pembina, Mr. Cavalier, in company with Mr. Marion, visited the office of the Hudson Bay Company, where they met also Major Campbell, who was in command of a company of British troops stationed near Fort Garry. With Marion, who was an old settler and acquainted with every one, Cavalier went on a tour of inspection and gathered all the information possible in his limited time in order to tell his friends on his return about this isolated, almost unheard-of community, and how they made life endurable in their frigid northern climate.

From Fort Garry to the Lower Fort the two men called at almost every house, and found a happy, prosperous, English-speaking people, mostly of Scotch descent from the immigrants sent over by Lord Selkirk. A few of other nationalities were also there. They were very kindly and hospitable people. The two men called upon Bishop Anderson of the English church, and found him to be "a fine old English gentleman all of the olden time." With him they visited the colleges, one for males and the other for females, where the youth received a classical education, and which institutions are still in existence. Here Mr. Cavalier first met Donald Murray, one of the original Selkirk settlers, who had once settled at South Pembina and had remained there until it was determined to be south of the international boundary line, and whose daughter is now Mr. Cavalier's wife. Mr. Cavalier somewhat enthusiastically says that his impression at that time was that he had never seen a more prosperous community in the States than was the Selkirk settlement. There was not a family that was not well off as to all the wants of life. The latch string

of every door hung on the outside, and all who called were welcome to the best the larder contained, and when leaving were asked to come again. Sectarianism was unknown among them, there being only one church, the Episcopal. Though the Scotch were mostly Presbyterians, yet when Dalton Black settled among them and an Episcopal church was built for them, there was no ill feeling shown on either side. Their houses were all built of logs and built for comfort, convenience, and warmth. Many of them are yet occupied, but the changes caused by Canadian immigration have had a large influence in changing their manner of life. However, they are today the same good people and live up to their religion.

The half-breeds of the Selkirk settlement, speaking English, are not nomads like those of French extraction, but take to the ways of their fathers and are workers and tillers of the soil. Nearly all have homes and lands of their own, educate their children, and have something laid by for a rainy day; while the French half-breeds, who are mostly of the Roman Catholic faith, believe that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

As the harvest of that season (1851) was nearly finished and the barnyards were filled with large and bountiful stacks of wheat and barley, and a stack or two of oats and peas, it was a rich sight, and there was no fear of starvation for two or more years, even should the crops fail. The land system, which gave a strip of land six chains wide fronting the Red River and extending back two miles, gave the settlement the appearance of a long, straggling village along the road from Fort Garry to the Lower Fort; and as the dwellings, barns and stock were in close view all the way, the picture was a most beautiful and interesting one, such as is nowhere seen in the States and rarely even in old Europe.

The Selkirkers generally had large families and old and young worked together on the homesteads. While like other farmers they suffered from drouth, grasshoppers, and frosts, yet they usually secured good crops, and saved a reserve for two or three years, an amount for seed, and sold the surplus to the Hudson Bay Company. Occasionally they would have poor crops and perhaps be compelled to use their reserve, or even to borrow from the Hudson Bay Company for seed and food. The company, whose interest it was to be liberal, as they depended upon these

farmers for their supplies of wheat for their support, loaned willingly, but required the payment from the succeeding crop. A government never existed, in the opinion of Mr. Cavalier, that got on better with settlers than the much abused Hudson Bay Company.

EARLY FLOURING MILLS; GRASSHOPPERS.

At that time, as before noted, all grain was cut with sickles and bound with willow withes by the women and children. Wheat, barley, and oats, were threshed on a barn floor with a flail during the winter season, and were winnowed with a large wind scoop resting on the breast; and it was remarkable how fast, with a good wind, the grain could be cleaned. The wheat was ground in large windmills, bolted fine and clean, and made excellent bread. The flour was not like the flour of these days, and modern cooks would probably turn up their noses at it, but it was to the taste as good as our best.

Mr. Cavalier in his rambles on that trip counted fifteen windmills, all grinding out flour at a lively rate, which at that time sold for eight or ten shillings per hundred weight.

The old settlers told of a grasshopper scourge at a date forgotten by them, that made a clean sweep of every growing thing, and that grasshoppers were piled up by the winds and waves four feet deep on the shores of lake Manitoba and Shoal lake. They stated that after the grasshoppers had done all the damage they could, as every thing was eaten, the Catholic clergy got up a procession and said prayers, and on the next day the hoppers quit hopping, took to their wings, and flew away to the northward and were seen no more.

Mr. Cavalier says the first time he saw grasshoppers was in 1854. He was in camp one night on White Bear lake, now lake Whipple, and took an early start toward St. Cloud. It had rained during the night and all were wet, so at nine o'clock they turned out on the bank of Long lake and spread their clothes and other things to dry. They made a fire to cook breakfast. Mr. Cavalier, on looking around for his blankets, etc., saw nothing but a squirming mass of grasshoppers, all as busy as if they had struck a bonanza. They were not able to get out of that mass of grass-

hoppers until they had traveled about twenty miles. On the return they struck them at St. Cloud, and they had cleaned the country quite thoroughly on their flight east. On crossing the Red river and between that and the Wild Rice river they struck the forerunners of another cloud of grasshoppers, and did not get clear of them until they arrived home at St. Joseph, now Walhalla. For gluttony the hopper takes the cake, Mr. Cavalier says, and relates that they ate the seat of his saddle and the tops of his boots. He threw a plug of tobacco to them, and within an hour they had eaten that.

In 1870 another visitation of grasshoppers appeared, and in that year and the year following their ravages were disastrous. In 1874 they came again and stayed three years, eating everything in the Red River valley, and the settlers were obliged to haul their flour from St. Cloud. Minneapolis and St. Paul sent relief to carry the poor through, which saved many from actual starvation.

Thus the Selkirkers, with the simplest and rudest of agricultural implements, were always prosperous, and want was unknown among them. Through them we learned that the Dakota lands were not the barren wastes and howling desert of dry, drifting sand that our school books had taught us, and that the Red River valley contained a mine of wealth greater than any discovered mine of silver and gold. This we were slow to realize, but have at length made the Red River valley the most bountiful granary of the world. The windmills of that famous pioneer settlement have done their last grinding; most of the old hand labor implements have been laid aside; and the new and improved forms of farm machinery, so efficient and so exact as to give almost the appearance of having human intelligence, have taken their place. These are run or propelled by horse and steam power, and the labor of one man has become as that of many. Mr. Cavalier reminiscently says: "I was here for years living by the proceeds of the chase, never dreaming that this mode of livelihood would ever cease, or that the millions of buffaloes that roamed the prairies, would ever be exhausted, and that we old settlers would soon be seeking other means of support."

The settlers south of the line had to depend upon the Selkirk settlement for their bread and butter. Old Father Belcourt, of

St. Joseph, near the Pembina mountain, a Catholic priest, and a rustler in all things for himself first and for his people next, built a bull mill at his mission at St. Joseph and ran it a few years with oxen, and ground what little wheat the half-breeds raised. With no bolt to take the bran out of the flour, it had to be run through sieves or eaten husks and all. The half-breeds did not furnish wheat enough to make the mill pay, and they could not be induced to greater industry, so that the good old man had to give the mill up. The result was that the half-breeds returned to the coffee-mill or ate the grain raw or roasted. That mill was the first. George Emerling and John Mayn built the next, and that mill is now one of the paying concerns of Pembina county at Walhalla, having all the new improvements in merchant mills.

FIRST MAIL ROUTE.

The first public business tending to civilization was the establishing of a monthly mail between Pembina and Fort Abercrombie. It was a kind of go-as-you-please, sometimes on foot, with the mail bag on the man's back, sometimes by horse and cart, and by courier, any way so that the mail was carried, and in those days it was never behind time. At least the contractor never was docked or fined. From Pembina the mail was taken to Fort Garry, and that office had to use Uncle Sam's stamps. From Fort Garry the route was to Fort Abercrombie and run by dog trains, horse and cart, and one year by ox cart, as all the horses from St. Cloud to Fort Garry died or were rendered useless by an epidemic. Sometime in the sixties, Capt. Blakeley and Carpenter secured the contract to carry the mail from St. Cloud to Georgetown on the Red river, and afterward had it extended to Fort Garry, Selkirk settlement.

The following is a list of the stations. Beginning at Pembina and going up or south, the first station was Frank La Rose's, at Twelve Mile Point; next were Bowesmont and Long Point, near Drayton, Hugh Biggiotoff; and Kelly Point, now Acton. Kelly was an old driver and gave it up. Gerard was station agent as long after as the route was in existence. Beyond were Turtle River, Jo Caloskey; Grand Forks, John Stewart first, and several others afterward; Buffalo Coulie, unknown; Frog Point, un-

known; Goose Prairie, A. Sargent; Elm River, Johnson; Georgetown, Hudson Bay Company; Oak Point, unknown; Twenty-four Mile Point, McCauleyville, and Breckenridge. At none of the above stations was a handful of grain raised. The contractors hauled all their oats from St. Cloud. The above named points were all the settled points, and there was not a settler elsewhere on the river from Breckenridge to Pembina.

STEAMBOATS ON THE RED RIVER.

In 1858, Anson Northup got the steamboat Pioneer in successful operation. Mr. Cavalier says he was then living at St. Boniface, Selkirk settlement, and with his wife made a trip on her to Lower Fort Garry, and he says that the settlers on the bank of the river were as much surprised as were the Indians in their villages on the Minnesota river at the first boat when she steamed up to Mankato. It was a perfect circus all the way down.

The International made her appearance within three or four years afterward as a freight boat for the Hudson Bay Company, ostensibly owned by Commodore N. W. Kittson, and was used as long as there was need of a boat on the river. She was all the time under the command of Capt. Frank Aymond, a St. Louis Frenchman from Ville Roche, and he was an excellent captain. Since leaving the river he has been living on his farm some four miles above Neche on the Pembina river, where he expects to pass the remainder of his days to a happy old age.

The Selkirk came next. She was built by James J. Hill; and other boats were built to supply the increased demand. Then followed the combination known as the Red River Transportation Company, which did business under that head until the railroads successfully shut off river navigation.

The amount of business that these boats accomplished was astonishing, and yet they did but little, perceptibly, toward settling the country, as there were only three or four points on the river that showed a beginning of what was to come. From Fargo and Moorhead to Grand Forks there were only a few settlers; and from Grand Forks to Drayton a few had settled to stay. Bowesmont was a steamboat landing, but never has amounted to much. Then Joliette commenced to grow and is now quite a

prosperous community, and, last but not least, Pembina. Back from the river there was no settlement and without the aid of railroads it would have taken an age to build up the country to what it now is.

Prior to 1878 there had been a few shipments of wheat, which had been picked up along the river by the boats. Frank C. Myrick, who was in the commission business from 1864, made the largest shipment on one of the boats ever made from Pembina. It amounted to 500 bushels of wheat, which he had collected from the back country on the Pembina and Tongue rivers. From Grand Forks to Pembina settlers came dropping in by families one at a time, and all came with the idea that wheat was the only staple to be cultivated in the Red River valley, all of which they had learned from the remarkable crops raised in the Selkirk settlement with primitive tools for cultivation, yielding from twenty to fifty bushels per acre. In one instance by garden cultivation as an experiment on the ground of Deacon James McKay, the yield was seventy-five bushels to the acre. If such crops are raised in Selkirk with the imperfect cultivation, why may we not, they reasoned, do the same or better with improved machinery farther south in the valley? For a few years they did so, and they continued to do well as long as they confined themselves to the extent of land they could properly cultivate. But greed was their worst enemy. If 160 acres panned out so well, why would not a section do better? And there they made a mistake, as will be explained later.

FIRST WHEAT RAISING NEAR THE PEMBINA RIVER.

During the period thus far traced, no wheat was raised south of the international boundary line. The settlers there lived on fish, flesh, and fowl. They raised all the garden vegetables needed, and bought flour from the Selkirk settlement. For fresh meat they depended upon the plains, and were seldom out of a supply. Barley was raised for horse feed, and some oats were raised, but the blackbirds devoured most of the oat fields. Having no mills to grind wheat, the settlers on the south side of the line raised none, but did raise squaw corn for roasting ears. The few cattle were kept on hay in winter, and the Indian ponies dug theirs

out of the snow, save in a period of unusually cold weather and deep snows, when they were fed hay.

In 1871 or 1872, Charles Bottineau, who had tilled ten acres to garden, seeded it to wheat, and claims to have raised fifty bushels of No. 1 hard wheat to the acre upon it. His place was four miles above Neche on the north side of Pembina river. Two years later Charles Grant, two miles west of Pembina, raised a small field of wheat, and claims to have averaged forty bushels to the acre, all of which they hauled to the Selkirk settlement to have it ground. A man named Vere Ether came to Pembina at the beginning of Riel's rebellion (1869), and was stopped at the boundary line by Riel's scouts. They sent him back to wait for a more convenient time. He was persuaded to take a preëmption on the Pembina river a few miles east of Neche. He opened up his farm and was the first settler there who made wheat-raising his chief employment. He always had good crops, in good seasons forty bushels per acre and never less than fifteen bushels.

PIONEER FARMERS NEAR MOORHEAD AND FARGO.

One of the oldest settlers and farmers in the Red River valley, south of the international line, is Hon. R. M. Probstfield, now living on his farm three and a half miles north of Moorhead. He came to the valley in 1859, and located at the mouth of the Sheyenne river, about five miles south of Georgetown. In October, 1860, he went to Europe, and returned in the spring of 1861, but, owing to the flooded condition of the valley that spring, he was unable to reach his location until June 10th. At that time parties by the name of Roundsville and Hanna were on the land where Mr. Probstfield now lives, and that spring they sowed a little wheat and planted potatoes. Roundsville and Hanna were called away and they made arrangements with Mr. Probstfield to harvest the wheat and dig the potatoes, but the Chippewa Indians threatened to drive them away and kill their stock. The wheat was destroyed by hail. Mr. Probstfield dug the potatoes. He had brought some cattle from St. Paul, and that fall he cut some hay on the place now occupied by Jacob Wambach. The Indians never molested them, as, after the troops at Fort Abercrombie had given them a whipping, they went north into the British possess-

ions. In the fall of 1861 he went to the post at Georgetown, and lived there until March, 1863, when General Sibley ordered all whites to go to Abercrombie. This was owing to the Indian uprising. He remained at Abercrombie until June, 1863, when he was ordered by General Sibley to remove to St. Cloud, where he remained until May, 1864, when he returned to Georgetown. The Indians had burned his buildings on the Wambach place, on the Buffalo river near Georgetown. He then opened a boarding house in one of the Hudson Bay Company's buildings at Georgetown, and was appointed postmaster. There were twenty-five men there at work building barges, who lived in the military quarters and boarded with him.

From 1864 to 1868, Mr. Probstfield was the Hudson Bay Company's agent at Georgetown. In 1862 the company seeded some wheat, but it was not harvested, owing to the abandonment of the post on account of the Indian scare. The company leased its boat, the International, to Harris, Gaeger, Mills & Bentley, until the post was again opened in 1864. Roundsville and Hanna having abandoned their farm, in Oakport, Mr. Probstfield took it as his homestead and occupied it in May, 1869, where he has ever since lived. There were seventy-one acres in the place, and he afterwards purchased additional land at $1.25 per acre. In 1869 he broke land for a garden, and seeded oats and barley and planted potatoes. He also kept live stock. As there were no threshing machines or mills in the country, it would not pay to raise wheat. In 1874, the Hudson Bay Company brought a thresher, a horse power machine, and the company's agent at Georgetown, Walter J. S. Traill, offered to thresh any wheat that was grown. Mr. Probstfield accordingly broke up fifteen acres and seeded it to wheat, harvesting twenty-eight bushels per acre, which was sold at about $1.50 per bushel. I should have remarked that during the years 1870 to 1873, Mr. Probstfield cultivated ten acres to oats, barley, corn and garden. Moorhead and Fargo had begun to be established in 1871, and these places afforded an excellent market for all the produce grown.

Nels Larson raised some wheat also in 1874, on land about two miles north of Moorhead, now known as Dr. Brendemuehl's farm. Ole Thompson, Hogan Anderson (Hicks), and Jens Anderson, raised wheat south of Moorhead the same year. This

wheat was sold to an elevator in Fargo that was built before Bruns & Finkle had built their large elevator and mill in Moorhead.

In 1875, Mr. Probstfield again raised wheat, and the number who were engaged in the industry considerably increased that year. In the spring of that year a number of Norwegians from Houston county came up and looked at land on the Dakota side between Georgetown and Argusville. Finding the land very wet by overflow of the river, they returned to the Minnesota side, and Mr. Probstfield, meeting them, asked where they were going, and they replied, "Back to Houston county." He was cultivating potatoes, and he said to them that if they would put two young men to work in his place, he would go with them and show them good land that had been surveyed. They agreed, and he took them over to the Buffalo river about six or eight miles east, where they located. There were six or seven families, and among them were Ole Thortvedt, Ole Tauge, Torgerson Skree, Ole Anderson, and others. They were delighted with the location and land, and they or their descendants are still there and prosperous. A. G. Kassenborg, A. O. Kragnes, and B. Gunderson and others, came a little later, and located on the Buffalo river. Jacob Wambach came in 1874, with his father-in-law, Joseph Stochen. Contemporary with Mr. Probstfield was E. R. Hutchinson, who settled where he still resides, about two miles south of Georgetown on the river. The boom began about 1878, when the immigration into the valley was very large. Wheat sold for $1 and above until about 1882, and it fell until it reached the low price of 42 or 43 cents.

One of the oldest settlers in the valley on the Dakota side and one of the most successful farmers is James Holes. He came in July, 1871, and bought out the claim of Ole Hanson, who had a cabin on the west bank of the river about one mile north of the Northern Pacific surveyed line. Hanson had a small patch of corn and potatoes. No corn was secured that year, and Mr. Holes says he dug about half a barrel of potatoes. The Northern Pacific railroad had laid tracks in the fall of 1871 to the east side of the river, to a point where Moorhead now stands. There was no bridge as yet, and owing to want of timber the bridge was not

built until the summer of 1872. The first engine crossed the river July 4 (or June 6), 1872. Mr. Holes states that the freight charges for wheat to Duluth at that time were prohibitory and this discouraged the growing of it. He interviewed the general manager and made such representations to him. The charge then was $99 for 20,000 pounds. This was exactly 30 cents per bushel. The company soon after (in 1873) made a considerable reduction. In 1872 Mr. Holes had the largest cultivated field in Cass county. It was cropped to oats, potatoes, and garden vegetables, and contained twenty-four acres. There were good markets, and Mr. Holes shipped his produce to Fort Buford, Bismarck, Winnipeg, and Glyndon. In 1873 he pursued the same employment. In 1874 he seeded fifteen acres of wheat, and harvested twenty bushels per acre. The season was dry, and, as the land had been gardened, it blew out badly, which caused a rather light yield for those early years. The wheat was the Scotch Fife variety, and he sold it for seed. In 1875 his acreage of wheat was about the same, but having in 1876 broken 150 acres, in the spring of 1877 he seeded 175 acres to wheat and secured an average of twenty-seven and one-half bushels per acre, which he sold at $1 per bushel. As this wheat was raised on land worth $5 per acre, the profit was large.

From 1878 to 1893, Mr. Holes yearly increased his acreage of wheat until he had reached 1,600 acres, which has been about the extent of his yearly wheat cultivation since. His land is now worth $30 per acre. The poorest field he ever harvested was ten bushels per acre, and the best forty-four bushels. His average has always exceeded ten bushels, but never exceeded twenty-seven and one-half bushels. The price has ranged from $1.50 to 45 cents per bushel. Grasshoppers prevailed from 1871 to 1877, and wreaked more or less damage every year. In May, 1876, the settlers burned the young grasshoppers in the prairie grass, which checked them; and in 1877 they all flew away, and this part of the valley has not been troubled with them since. Mr. Holes' crops have, in the twenty-eight years of his residence here, been injured by hail four seasons. The most disastrous hailstorm was last season, when he lost, as he figures it, about 16,000 bushels of wheat by hail. Mr. Holes states as his judgment, formed after long experience, that wheat can be produced at a profit in the

valley when properly cultivated, excluding from the calculation the advance in price of land, and that the valley is one of the best in the United States for profitable farming.

Moorhead was the terminus of the Northern Pacific railroad for a period of two years, and a large amount of freight was transferred at that point for transportation down the Red river to Winnipeg and other places. At that time nine steamers were plying on the river, and a number of flatboats were used in connection. An eye witness has informed me that he has seen as many as eleven hundred Mennonite immigrants camped at Moorhead and bound for Manitoba and the Northwest Territory, who pitched their tents on the banks of the Red River, awaiting transportation by boat down.

In May, 1871, there were a few settlers at Glyndon, Muskoda, and Hawley, and a few along the Red river within the present limits of Clay county. The very earliest settlements were made at Georgetown by Adam Stein, R. M. Probstfield, and E. R. Hutchinson, who became husbandmen and tillers of the soil. We have the gratification of knowing that they are still living witnesses of the fertility of the Red River valley soil and the healthfulness of the climate, and moreover of the fecundity of mankind when under the influence of both these. Mr. Hutchinson is the father of seventeen children, Mr. Probstfield of thirteen, and Mr. Stein of eight.

It may be of interest to my hearers to learn the particulars as to how it happened that these three pioneers drifted into what is now one of the most famous agricultural regions in the world, but which was then a dreary waste uninhabited save by Indians and roamed by wild beasts. In March, 1859, a party of capitalists, consisting in part of Messrs. Peter Poncin, Welch, and Bottineau, of Minneapolis, and Barneau, John Irvine, and Freudenreich, of St. Paul, explored the Red river country; and their investigations convinced them that a point at the mouth of the Sheyenne river, about fourteen miles north of the present site of Moorhead, was the head of navigation of the Red river, and they judged that it was the natural point for a townsite. They therefore covered a plot of land at the point named on the Minnesota side of the Red river with scrip, and laid out a town which they named La Fayette, and they sold a great many shares in this

townsite to parties east. On the site they built a large log house, which they intended for a tavern. At this time Mr. Probstfield was in business at St. Paul in partnership with George Emerling, and the townsite owners induced Mr. Probstfield to go up to La Fayette. He remained there for a year or more and soon after preëmpted a claim on the south side of Buffalo river, not far from Georgetown. In 1864 he went into the employ of the Hudson Bay Company at Georgetown, where they had a warehouse and trading post.

Mr. Stein was induced in July, 1859, to go to La Fayette, and he afterwards preëmpted a claim near Georgetown. His first work was in cutting prairie grass and making hay, which he sold to the Hudson Bay Company; and later he worked in erecting buildings at Georgetown for that company. In December, 1861, Mr. Stein enlisted as a soldier in the Fourth Minnesota regiment and served through the Civil war. After his return from the war, he settled on land near the Hudson Bay Company's buildings at Georgetown, and has been a farmer there ever since.

The first steamboat on the Red river was built at La Fayette, the materials for which were transported across the country from Crow Wing on the Mississippi, where the steamer North Star was broken up for that purpose. The new boat was named the Anson Northup. With the party who came across the country with those materials was E. R. Hutchinson, who helped to build the boat, and for a number of years he was engaged in boating on the Red river and building boats thereon and also on the Saskatchewan. Mr. Hutchinson afterward became a farmer and preëmpted land not far from the old site of La Fayette, where he now lives. I have related in another place how Mr. Probstfield became one of the first farmers in the valley. Besides these three men on the north of the line of the Northern Pacific railroad there were on the south Jens Anderson and his brother, about three miles south of Moorhead. Ole Thompson made settlement about the same time on the river about eleven miles south.

Early in the spring of 1871 Henry A. Bruns went from St. Cloud to Brainerd, which was then the western end of the Northern Pacific railroad track. From Brainerd he rode to Oak Lake, at the engineers' headquarters of the road, where he met Gen. Thomas L. Rosser. The Northern Pacific had surveyed its line

to the Red river at a point some twenty-eight miles below Moorhead. Mr. Bruns was prospecting, looking for business chances. He then returned to St. Paul, bought a load of provisions and ready-made clothing, and hauled them to the Red river. Where Mr. Probstfield's house now stands (about three and a half miles north of Moorhead), he found an encampment of tents, and here he met H. G. Finkle, J. B. Chapin, and John Haggert. This was about June, 1871. Mr. Bruns opened out his goods in a tent, and formed a partnership with Mr. Finkle. They remained at this point (Oakport) until September, when, the townsite of Moorhead having been staked out, all those at Oakport removed thereto. At Moorhead they did business in tents all winter. In March, 1872, Mr. Bruns went to McCauleyville and bought a lot of lumber, hired teams, and hauled it to Moorhead. Bruns & Finkle then erected a frame building, of 21 by 50 feet. They continued to do business in this building until 1877, when they built a large brick store.

We have given this somewhat lengthy introduction of Mr. Bruns into this history for the reason that he was a pioneer in promoting the industry of wheat raising in the Red River valley. In the winter of 1871-2, Mr. Bruns purchased 500 bushels of seed wheat, which he gathered along the Minnesota river and farther south and east, and transported it hundreds of miles by sleds, which wheat he distributed among the farmers of Clay and Norman counties, Minnesota, and Cass and Traill counties, Dakota. The facilities for raising wheat that year being poor and the grasshoppers very destructive, there was no surplus from the harvest in excess of the amount required for seed the next year. Early in 1874, Mr. Bruns organized a stock company which erected the first flouring mill and sawmill. This mill soon demonstrated that the wheat of the valley was of superior quality for making strong flour and excellent bread. The flour was awarded the first premium at the Minneapolis and Minnesota State fairs two consecutive seasons. The sawmill cut timber for the construction of the steamboats, the Minnesota and Manitoba, built at Moorhead in 1875, by the Merchants' Transportation Company, of which James Douglas, brother of John Douglas of St. Paul, was president. They were the best boats ever on Red river. This assisted in opening up Manitoba and the Northwest Territory markets.

Later the Upper Missouri and Black Hills countries were secured, and later still the Yellowstone country, as markets for the flour of this mill. It created a market for the wheat produced within a wide radius, and for a number of years took all that was offered, rarely giving less than $1 per bushel.

In 1878, Bruns and Finkle, seeing the necessity for more storage for the rapidly increasing production of wheat, erected a large steam elevator at Moorhead, with a capacity of 110,000 bushels. It was the first steam elevator built in the Red River valley. Mr. Bruns informs the writer that in the fall of 1873 he shipped the first carload of wheat from the Red river to lake Superior, which, by personal hard work in cleaning, was graded No. 2, though it certainly was No. 1, none like it ever having been shipped in the history of the world before. Mr. Bruns, in a personal letter, says: "In the fall of 1874 I commenced to grind about all the wheat then grown in the Red River valley, and in the fall of 1875 I gathered wheat and other grain, not as before by the thousand but by the tens of thousands of bushels, and with wheat and flour of my own grinding supplied the Canadian government and Mennonites with seed and bread throughout Manitoba."

Of the pioneer farmers who broke land extensively and opened farms in Clay county are John and Patrick H. Lamb. Franklin J. Schreiber, G. S. Barnes, Lyman Loring, George M. Richardson, Capt. W. H. Newcomb, A. M. Burdick, W. J. Bodkin, and Charles Brendemuehl.

EARLY WHEAT RAISING NEAR FORT ABERCROMBIE.

Wheat was grown near Abercrombie, on the east or Minnesota side of the river, in what is now Wilkin county, about as early as anywhere in the valley, except in the Selkirk settlement and in Pembina county, North Dakota, then the Territory of Dakota. Probably the first man to sow and harvest wheat in the upper or southern part of the valley was Hon. David McCauley. I append herewith his narrative just as he has given it to me.

"I came to Abercrombie July 17, 1861, to act as post sutler, postmaster, and agent for the Northwestern Transportation Company. In the spring of 1862, I sowed a few acres of barley,

planted potatoes, and opened up a garden, which were destroyed by the Indians in August. In the spring of 1864, I crossed over on the Minnesota side of the river opposite to the fort and commenced farming. In 1865 I sowed some seventy-five acres of oats and planted a few acres of potatoes, and continued to sow and plant the same crops until 1871. There was no market for wheat until that time, nor until the railroad reached Moorhead or Breckenridge. In the spring of 1872 I put in a few acres of wheat, and have continued the same up to the present time. This season (1899) I raised 10,000 bushels of wheat. In the earlier years the yield of wheat was about the same as now. The land that I cultivated in 1865 has been cropped every year since except three, and the yield in 1899 was as good as I have known it. I know of no wheat being sown in the valley earlier than mine. The following are some of the men who sowed wheat soon after I did: Edward Connolly and Mitchell Robert, Breckenridge; Loure Bellman, J. R. Harris, and J. B. Welling, McCauleyville; Frank Herrick and John Eggen, Abercrombie. In the early days the only market for oats and potatoes was Fort Abercrombie."

DEVELOPMENT BY RAILROADS.

Prior to 1878 there were no settlements away from the Red, Red Lake, and Pembina rivers, in the lower or northern portion of the valley, so that, in treating of the Minnesota side north of the Northern Pacific railroad, it is apparent that no wheat was grown on that side (except near Moorhead) until the completion of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba railroad (now the Great Northern) to St. Vincent, when immigration set in, bringing settlers to many stations, who at once began to break land and sow it to wheat. The district between the railroad and Red river was first settled.

It is a fact, which none will dispute, that the building of railroads into and through the valley has been the most important factor in settling the country and developing the resources of this fertile plain. Without these it would today be practically unpopulated and undeveloped, as it remained for fifty years after the Selkirk settlers had demonstrated its adaptability to cultivation.

There might have been a fringe of settlements along the streams, but without more efficient means for transporting wheat and other agricultural products to market, there could not have been any great development and production.

THE DALRYMPLE FARM.

Another leading factor in settling the country has been the so called bonanza farms. Those demonstrated on a large scale the practicability of producing wheat at a profit on the flat lands of the valley. They advertised the results of great operations, and made known to the world the wonderful possibilities of the region.

The first of these was the Dalrymple farm, eighteen miles west of the Red river, opened up in 1875 and subsequent years. A brief description of this farm may be of interest. In the year 1875, a number of large holders of the bonds of the Northern Pacific railroad company, supposed to be the Grandin brothers, Messrs. Cass, Howe, and Cheney, who had taken the bonds at par and which were then worth only ten cents on the dollar, determined to save as much as possible, and exchanged the bonds for a great block of the company's lands in the Red River valley. In March, 1875, Oliver Dalrymple, an experienced farmer of Minnesota, examined the land and became convinced of its value for wheat growing. He therefore entered into a contract with the owners to test the merits of the soil, the terms of which contract are understood to be that they were to furnish the stock, implements, and seed, with which to cultivate the land, and were to receive in return seven per cent. on the amount invested, Dalrymple to have the option of paying back the principal and interest, at which time he was to be granted one third of the land. In that year he broke 1,280 acres, and his first harvest, in 1876, yielded 32,000 bushels of the choicest wheat, or an average of a little more than twenty-three bushels per acre.

As soon as the results of Mr. Dalrymple's experiment became known, capital began seeking the depreciated railroad bonds and exchanging them for land, and labor flocked from adjoining states to preêmpt government land. In May, June, and July,

1879, the sales of government land amounted to nearly 700,000 acres, and during the year, 1,500,000 acres were taken on homestead preëmption, and tree claims in Dakota.

The Dalrymple holdings comprised some 100,000 acres in all, and in 1878 the wheat acreage had been increased to 13,000 acres; and it was increased from year to year until in 1895 there were some 65,000 acres under cultivation. The cultivated land was subdivided into tracts of 2,000 acres, each tract being managed by a superintendent and foreman, with its own set of books. Each estate had suitable and complete buildings, consisting of houses for superintendent and men, stables, granaries, tool-houses, and other buildings. As a matter of course, to carry on the Dalrymple farm required the services of a large number of men and horses, the use of many plows, harrows, seeders, harvesters, threshers and engines, wagons, and other implements and tools. A settlement was effected in 1896 and years following, Mr. Dalrymple taking his share, and the great farm was divided and now comprises, besides the Dalrymple, the Howe and Cheney farms, and perhaps others.

THE GRANDIN FARM.

Another bonanza farm of large extent was the Grandin farm consisting of 38,000 acres, of which 14,000 acres in and around Grandin, and 6,000 acres near Mayville in Traill county, North Dakota, are now under cultivation. The first crop of wheat was grown and harvested on this farm in 1878. This farm was operated in a similar manner as the Dalrymple farm, being divided into tracts of 1,500 acres, managed by a foreman. The two farms employ some 300 men and 300 horses, and use 100 plows, 50 seeders, 75 binders, 10 separators, and 10 engines, etc. The average yield of wheat on this farm has been 17 bushels per acre. In 1899 a severe hailstorm destroyed eight sections of wheat on this farm, which was ripe for the harvest. That was the only widespread damage that has occurred to the crops of the farm in the twenty-one years it has been operated.

There are a number of other bonanza farms on both sides of the river, as the Lockhart and Keystone farms, respectively in Norman and Polk counties, Minnesota, and the Dwight, Fairview,

Cleveland, Downing, and Antelope farms in North Dakota. In fact, large farms have been opened in all the twelve counties, farms comprising three to five sections of land. They have served their purpose, and many of them have been reduced or divided and sold.

INCREASE OF POPULATION AND WEALTH.

It is interesting to note the rapid growth of population and wealth that has taken place in the Red River valley within thirty years. In that time many cities, villages, and hamlets, have been established and builded, some of which have grown until they may fairly be denominated as magnificent and metropolitan. It is hardly needed to name Fargo and Moorhead (one city in a commercial and social sense, although situated in different states); Grand Forks and East Grand Forks, similarly situated; and likewise Wahpeton and Breckenridge. Pembina and St. Vincent also are somewhat similarly situated, though more distant from each other. Besides there are Crookston, on the Red Lake river, Hallock, Warren, Ada, and Barnesville, in Minnesota, Grafton and Hillsboro, in North Dakota, and many others of less note in both states.

In 1870 the population of the twelve counties was about 1,000. In 1880 it was 56,000. In 1890 it was 166,000. In 1900 it is estimated to be 350,000. The valuation of property in the valley in 1870 was zero. At this date it is estimated at not less than $100,000,000; and I am speaking of assessed valuation, which is, as a matter of course, far short of actual valuation.

CAUSES OF OCCASIONAL FAILURES.

While there has been a somewhat remarkable development of the wheat growing industry in the Red River valley, and it is undisputed that its soil and climate are as favorable as any in the United States, and perhaps in the world, yet many industrious men have scored failures. In every employment, business, or industry, failures sometimes occur; and therefore, if they have occurred in raising wheat where the conditions are favorable, it is not surprising. It is also clear that such failures are chargeable to the mistakes of the men so engaged, rather than to the country.

From a long observation of the methods employed and of the equipment of those who have pursued the work, I am of the opinion that the chief cause of failure has been the fact that men have undertaken larger tasks than their means warranted. In the early years of the settlement of the valley men were infected as with a craze. Wheat was selling at a dollar and upwards per bushel, while land could be had by paying the government fees for making entry, or by purchase at $5 per acre. Stories of large yields and high prices were circulated, and many believed that they could make themselves rich in a few years by raising wheat. Many embarked in it on borrowed capital, secured at high rates of interest; and some capital is needed although no payment of money was made in advance on the land. It must be broken and seeded, the crop harvested, threshed, and marketed. To do this requires horses, implements, and hire of laborers. Many men, doubtless, who have commenced in this way have succeeded: but this result has been accomplished by superior skill, economy, good business management, and fortuitous circumstances. By far the greater number have failed in the end. They may have won some success for a year or more, but, when they found themselves ahead, greed got the better of their foresight and judgment, and they have contracted for more land and larger equipment. Then a year of light yield, of damage by flood, drouth or frost, and a fall of price in conjunction, have succeeded, which has greatly diminished the value of their harvested crop; while the labor bills, the payments for machinery, the interest on borrowed capital, have piled up, and so the failure comes.

If these men had been satisfied to let well enough alone, if they had continued to cultivate what they might have done without hiring much help or buying additional machinery, they would have weathered the unfavorable years, as their obligations would have been small, and as to obtaining a living, there is no question but that they could have done that, though their entire crop was a failure. They could have found work with their horses among their neighbors; they could have cut hay on the wide prairies and have hauled it to market, or found employment sufficient to keep themselves and families, in a score of ways.

It has been the undue haste to get rich, the reaching out and covering more land than they had means of doing, except on borrowed capital, that has been the ruin of so many. This inclination

has also had another injurious effect. It has produced poor cultivation, careless plowing and seeding, harvesting and threshing at unseasonable times, and general slighting of work, instead of thorough, timely and skillful cultivation, which always brings its reward, but the other kind never.

BETTER AND MORE DIVERSIFIED CULTIVATION NEEDED.

I am of the firm opinion that, whereas the average of wheat produced from an acre of land in the valley is about fifteen bushels per acre, or in some years a little more, it could be raised to 28 or 30 bushels; and that, while there are now produced crops ranging from 12 to 30 bushels per acre, there could be secured 30 to 40 bushels almost invariably. I am confirmed in this opinion by numerous instances where small fields which have been especially treated and cultivated, sown to wheat, have produced 35 to 40 bushels per acre. Thus we have seen pieces which had been cultivated to roots, potatoes, garden vegetables, etc., in previous years, the cultivation of which crops has required deep tillage, frequent stirring of the ground with plow or cultivator, and other pieces which had been seeded to timothy and pastured, being plowed and sown to wheat, produce 35 and as high as 42 bushels per acre in years when the adjoining large fields did not average more than 16 or 18 bushels per acre.

And so the conclusion is drawn that when the valley becomes more thickly settled, the value of land higher, compelling to better cultivation, and in less extensive tracts, no man undertaking to exceed 320 acres, the yield per acre will be increased. When this time comes, it will be accompanied also with more diversified farming. There will be flocks and herds, milk and butter, eggs and fowl, beef, pork and mutton, etc.; and then the Red River valley will be, according to its extent, the most productive region in the whole country.

RAILROAD FREIGHT RATES AND LEGISLATION.

Along in 1883, or 1884, the price of wheat at Red river points having fallen to about 60 cents, there was little or no profit in its production and in many cases a considerable loss, which caused great uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the farmers. They

looked about them for some relief, and, as the cost of transporting wheat to the terminal points was the same, namely, 25 cents per hundred pounds, or 15 cents per bushel, as when wheat sold for $1.00 or more per bushel, they were of opinion that the freight charge should be reduced. They thought that the railroad companies might fairly be called upon to share with them some of the loss that they sustained. Appeals to the companies for reduction were without effect. Therefore the farmers resolved to secure a reduction, and other reforms connected therewith, by political action, and they began holding meetings, where the whole matter was discussed and resolutions passed. A good deal of complaint was also made against the alleged close alliance that existed between the railroad companies, the elevator companies, and the millers' association, by which every producer was compelled to pass his wheat through an elevator and pay its charges for handling, which fixed its grade, and he generally had to sell it to the elevator at such a price as the company owning the elevator might give. The farmer wanted the right to load on cars and ship direct to a terminal market. This agitation had its birth in Clay county, and it extended throughout the wheat-raising districts of the state. It was the promoting cause for the organization of the Farmers' Alliance, which afterward became a political party, and evolved into the People's party. It had its effect, and the legislature, in its session of 1885, passed an act, approved March 5, 1885, which regulated railroads and provided for the board of railroad and warehouse commissioners.

Briefly stated, the law provided that the railroad companies should make annual reports to the board of commissioners, showing amount of stock subscribed, amount of assets and liabilities, amount of debt, estimated value of roadbed, of rolling stock, of stations and buildings, mileage of main tracks and of branches, tons of through and local freight carried, monthly earnings for carrying passengers and freight, expenses incurred in running passenger and freight trains, and all other expenses, rate of passenger fare, tariff of freights, and many other minor particulars and things; and the commission was authorized to make and propound any other interrogatories relating to the condition, operation and control of railroads in this state, as might be necessary, and they were empowered to make investigation, examine books, etc.;

and proper penalties were provided for in case of refusal of companies to furnish the information demanded. It also required every railroad company to permit any person or company to build and operate elevators at any of its way stations. It compelled railroads to furnish cars on application for transporting grain stored in any and all elevators or warehouses without discrimination. It prohibited extortion and discrimination in rates, and also empowered the commission to notify any railroad company of any changes in rates, or in operation of roads, that in their judgment ought to be made for carrying passengers or freight, and, in case of refusal of the company to make them, to institute suit to compel such changes or reductions.

At the same time the legislature passed an act to regulate elevators and warehouses, and for the inspection and weighing of grain. The main provisions of this act may be stated as follows: Declaring all elevators and warehouses at Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, public; requiring their proprietors to take out license; providing that such elevators and warehouses shall receive grain for storage without discrimination, to give receipts therefor, to deliver the grain or return the receipt; requiring the owner or lessee to make and post weekly in a conspicuous place a statement of kind and grade of grain received, to send a report daily to the state registrar, and to publish rates for storage; prohibiting the mixing together of grain of different grades; providing for the appointment of a state weighmaster and assistants, who shall weigh grain at points where it is inspected; providing for the appointment of a chief inspector and of deputy inspectors, for the inspection and grading of grain under such rules as the commission shall prescribe, for which inspection a fee shall be collected sufficient to meet the expenses of the service; and providing that the commission shall establish Minnesota grades and publish the same.

Under these laws and amendments thereto, it is well known and undisputed that there has been much more freedom in the shipment of wheat and other grain than before. Farmers have since been able to order cars to a side track and load them from their wheat fields, or otherwise, whence they are hauled to such market as they shall designate. The commissioners have, under the law, defined and established grades of wheat, and the inspec-

tion is made at the terminals in accordance therewith, and the wheat is also weighed.

The operation of this law seems to have been beneficial and satisfactory for the most part. The season of 1898 was an exception, when it was charged that the grades were suddenly stiffened, by which the producer lost one or more grades, or from 4 to 7 cents in value per bushel of wheat, and that this stiffening was without just ground. These charges also originated, as the agitation for reduction of freight charges had done, in Clay county, and were made an issue in the state election that year; and it is believed that, as Hon. John Lind, the candidate for governor of the Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, championed them, it gave him many votes. They were substantially verified by an investigation made by a joint committee of the legislature.

The freight on wheat, in cents per 100 pounds, since the settlement of the Red River valley, from different primary points to Minneapolis and Duluth, has been as follows:

		To Minneapolis			To Duluth.		
	Various Dates	Sept. 1, 1891	Oct. 9, 1895	July 21, 1898	Sept. 1, 1891	Oct. 9, 1895	July 21, 1898
Morris	1873 28c.	12	12	12	15	15	14½
Breckenridge	1872 35	14	14	13	15	15	14½
Crookston	1880 27	16½	16½	14	16½	16½	14
St. Vincent	1880 35	18	18	16	18	18	16
Moorhead	1881 25	15½	15½	14½	15½	15½	14½
Fargo	1881 25	15½	15½	14½	15½	15½	14½
Glyndon	1881 25	15½	15½	14	15½	15½	14
Fergus Falls	1881 23	14	14	13	14½	14½	14

OLD AND NEW METHODS OF WHEAT FARMING.

Since the first wheat was grown in the Red River valley, a revolution has occurred in plowing, seeding, harvesting, and threshing. By the old method of plowing, with the best plow and horses, one man with a 14-inch walking plow and a pair of

good horses, might plow two and a half acres of land in a day. Now one man with a gang plow, turning 28 inches, and drawn by four horses, can plow four and a half acres. The area is not quite doubled for the reason that the speed is somewhat slackened by increased weight, the driver riding on the plow, thus rendering the labor much easier to him.

By the old method of seeding by hand one man could sow sixteen acres in a day, and the land had to be harrowed and dragged, often with tree tops, to smooth it. Now with a drill, drawn by four horses, one man will put in twenty-five acres and no harrowing is necessary afterward, although many harrow the land previous to seeding.

By the old method of cutting grain with a cradle a good man could cut four acres, while it required another man to rake and bind it. Now with the best binder, drawn by three horses, he can cut sixteen acres, and the machine binds it, and carries along a number of bundles and drops them in rows.

In threshing there is even more disparity in the amount accomplished by modern machinery over the old methods. In fact, the difference is so great that a comparison is not worth while. With the best and largest threshing machine, 3,500 bushels of wheat can be threshed in a day. Thus on land producing an average of 20 bushels per acre, one day's work will thresh the wheat grown on 175 ecres. The area of land covered in a day will be more or less than this, according to the average yield per acre. To operate this machine, which is provided with a self-feeder and an automatic band-cutter, also a blower which stacks the straw, only four men are required. To haul the bundles to the machine requires eighteen men and twenty horses, or ten wagons with two horses to each. The number of men and horses and wagons required to do the hauling of the threshed wheat from the machine to the granary, elevator, or cars, depends upon the distance to be traversed. It costs at the present time ten cents per bushel to thresh the wheat and load it into wagon tanks.

WHEAT PRODUCTION AND ITS VALUE, 1898.

I have gathered the statistics of wheat acreage and yield for 1898 from the most reliable sources obtainable, namely, from the county auditor's office of each county which lies partly or mainly

in the Red River valley south of the international boundary. Some of the officers reported that the statistics on this head as furnished by the assessors were not full, owing to the failure of some of the assessors to make returns; but in these cases, at my request, the auditors furnished me with estimates based upon other sources of information. Therefore, although the figures in the following table cannot be claimed to be absolutely correct, they approach accuracy, and, it is believed, are in no case excessive.

Acreage and Production of Wheat in 1898 in the Counties of the Red River Valley.

Counties in Minnesota.	Acres.	Bushels.
Wilkin	126,418	1,896,270
Clay	210,440	3,367,040
Norman	166,377	2,438,662
Polk	347,346	4,862,844
Marshall	186,716	2,614,024
Kittson	142,857	2,000,000
	1,180,154	17,178,840

Counties in North Dakota.	Acres.	Bushels.
Richland	226,720	3,057,714
Cass	495,499	7,916,896
Traill	271,907	5,371,129
Grand Forks	329,498	5,676,322
Walsh	257,500	3,960,175
Pembina	258,211	4,956,680
	1,839,335	30,938,916
Total	3,019,489	48,117,756

Assuming that the average price of wheat for the year's crop at points of production was 60 cents per bushel, the value of the crop for 1898 to the producers was $28,870,653. This sum measures the wealth-creating value of this one staple for the year named. But this is not the whole story. The wheat farmers of the twelve Red River valley counties produced a greater value. They added a much larger amount than nearly twenty-nine million dollars to the wealth of the country. I assume that this crop was transported either as wheat or flour to New York. As a matter of course, not all of it was actually carried direct to New

York, but a large part of it was carried to that port, either for domestic consumption or for export; and it is fair to assume that it would cost, on the average, as much in local freights and handling charges to distribute the other portion to the consumers throughout the country as to carry it through to New York. The cost of carriage to New York by all rail is about 24 1-2 cents per bushel: partly by rail and partly by lake and canal it is about 20 cents. Basing the calculation on a rate of 21 cents (arbitrarily found, for it is difficult to figure on an average rate for the year accurately, owing to the fluctuations in the lake and canal rate, or to ascertain the amount shipped by that route and the amount shipped by rail), the added value is $10,104,728. This increased value is properly assigned to the wheat, for the wheat pays the whole cost of marketing it. This large sum of ten million dollars was earned by the railroads, elevators, inspectors and weighers, boats, transferers, etc., which gave employment to large numbers of men. Thus the wheat produced in 1898, by the farmers of these twelve counties, which include the part of the Red River valley in the United States, added to the wealth of the country some thirty-nine millions of dollars; and in the year 1899, just past, it is probably nearly as much.

An explanation is needed, however, as to the actual cash price received by the producers for their crop of wheat for the year 1898. I find upon a careful examination of the price paid at Moorhead that the average price for the year was about 57 cents per bushel; that its average price for the four months of September, October, November, and December, 1898, was 55 cents; and for the remaining eight months of the year, from January to August, 1899, the average price was 59 cents, making an average for the year of 57 cents per bushel. It is a fact which must be recognized that the producers in the section I am treating of sell the bulk of their crop in the four months prior to January 1; so that I will make the calculation of value of the crop produced in the twelve Red River valley counties on this basis of its average local price for that period, which shows as follows: 48,117,756 bushels at 55 cents is $26,464,765.80. This is the minimum amount of value, as, for such part of the crop as was sold by producers after January 1, 1899, four cents more per bushel on the average was realized. This explanation does not affect the foregoing argument so far as it relates to the increased value of the

wheat at points of consumption and export, all of which must be included in any calculation as to the wealth-creating value of the crop.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES CAVALIER.

I have mentioned Charles Cavalier, of Pembina, who has taken great interest in my labors in gathering materials for this paper, and who has given me much valuable assistance. In further acknowledgement thereof, and in compliment to him, I desire to embrace herein a portion of a recent letter of his to me as follows:

"It would be a pleasant thing for me to be present with them [meaning this annual meeting of the society] and see some of the old faces of fifty years ago, but alas, the infirmities of eighty-one years forbid it. Present my respects to them, and tell them that though far away, I am with them in mind if not in body. I still keep up an occasional correspondence with my old friend, A. L. Larpenteur, and through him I hear from Bill Murray and others of the old timers, and I see occasionally the name of Ex-Governor Ramsey, for whom I have a high regard and a warm spot in my heart. He appointed me first territorial librarian, and has in many instances aided and befriended me. May he live until he learns to enjoy the good things of this footstool of God, and then, after his life of usefulness and goodness, tranquilly fall asleep and awake in the kingdom prepared for him and all of us who have kept God's commandments or tried to do so. Such is the wish of this old settler whose mundane existence of close onto eighty-one years has been one of pleasure and enjoyment far exceeding its many ills and misery. My health is now tolerably fair."

GREATNESS OF THE RESOURCES OF MINNESOTA.

I have not found it practicable to treat wheat-growing as a state-wide industry, owing to its magnitude, and have confined myself strictly to the subject assigned to me, which has necessitated as much labor and research as I have been able, while editing a daily and weekly newspaper, to devote to it. With more abundant leisure I might properly have touched upon the expansive prairies of the state, both level and rolling, and told something

of their productions, not only of their wheat, which makes the best bread ever eaten by man, but of their rye, oats, barley, corn, flax-seed, and potatoes; of their green meadows, which abound with luxuriant grass and furnish food for countless flocks and herds, and of the Minnesota cow, whose milk, after being treated in the creameries, makes the very best butter known to civilization; of the fruit orchards, gardens, flowers, shrubbery, etc., together with the neat and cozy dwellings that dot them o'er and are the homes of a hardy, happy, and prosperous people.

I might have touched upon the great extent of forests, from which have been taken so many millions of feet of the best white pine and hardwood lumber, adding largely to the wealth of the state, and which are not yet exhausted.

I might have told of the iron mines, which, for richness and extent, have been one of the marvels of the closing part of the nineteenth century, and which are yet, maybe, to exceed the most sanguine expectations of enthusiasts; of the mighty river having its rise in our state, whose commerce has been so great a factor in the making of the history of the North American continent, and advancing its civilization; and of the smaller rivers, which are interesting in other ways.

I might have dwelt at length upon the surpassing beauty of the state's landscape, whose ten thousand lakes are bordered by a superb growth of primeval forest timber, through whose foliage the pure air of a wholesome climate sings a ceaseless lullaby to exhausted humanity, which seeks quiet and rest upon their bosom. In these lakes the finny tribe leap and splash and entice the skill of the expert angler, as well as the efforts of the novice, affording the most exquisite enjoyment and the most health-giving and recuperative recreation that man is blessed with, and whose skill, good luck, or patience is rewarded by the catch of as good food fish as swim.

And, lastly, I might have said that this great, resourceful and fertile state of ours, at the age of fifty years, contains a population of nearly two millions of as intelligent, generous, brave, and at the same time as gentle, industrious, progressive and patriotic people, as can be found in any state in all this broad land.

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HISTORY OF FLOUR MANUFACTURE IN MINNESOTA.*

BY COL. GEORGE D. ROGERS.

PROGRESS IN METHODS OF MILLING.

It is recorded, and is probably true, although it does not come within the milling experience which it is my privilege to review here tonight, that the first mill operated in Minnesota was the hand mortar of the Indian aborigines. This make of mill seems to have been much on the plan of that described in the Bible, the mortar used by Moses in grinding corn and manna in the wilderness within sight of Canaan. Speaking of Moses and milling, you will pardon me, if in passing I call attention to the fact, that this great law-giver of Bible record, the first legislator of historic repute, exempted the mortar or mill of that day from being taken in pawn, because, said he, it would be like taking a man's life to take the mill from which proceeds life's staff. But the hand mortar of Moses and the red man is no longer used in the flouring industry of Minnesota, and its further history we will leave with our friends, the apothecaries, who long since secured the monopoly for the use of this kind of milling machine.

The next step in the evolution of milling in the Northwest was the introduction of the hand-mill by the early territorial pioneers. The hand-mill was the prevailing mill in use among the ancient Britons down to the time of the Roman conquest. It is

*An Address at the Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, January 21, 1901. The author was aided in the preparation of this paper by Mr. Frank N. Stacy, who also read it at this meeting.

still in use in Minnesota by the wives and daughters and by the retail grocers for grinding the family coffee. For a full account of the milling industry and process connected with the hand-mill, you are respectfully referred to the Daughters of the Revolution or to the Minnesota Retail Grocers Association.

The horse-mill followed the hand-mill. Fifty years ago it was not an uncommon sight, on the prairies of Illinois, Iowa and southern Minnesota, to see a farmer coming in a distance of ten to twenty miles with an ox team and camping around a bonfire sometimes two days and a night, dining meantime on parched corn, while he waited his turn to get a sack or two of corn ground at the one and only horse-mill in that section. For the horse-mill we are said to be indebted to the Romans. For an exhaustive account of its modern use in Minnesota, you should apply to the farmers who grind feed for live stock.

From the horse-mill there was a broad progressive stride to the windmill as a source of power in flour manufacture. Wind grist-mills are of great antiquity, and are still operated in Europe. The crusaders of the thirteenth century introduced them into England, France, Germany, and Holland, borrowing the invention from the Saracens. In the seventeenth century wind grist-mills decorated the hills of New England, just as the water mill afterward sung in the valleys. An early historian of Minnesota, J. W. McClung, speaks of the wind grist-mills at St. Peter and Mankato, that at the latter place, in 1868, grinding 160 bushels of wheat daily, which would be equivalent to perhaps thirty barrels of flour. In 1876, Mr. A. Simpson, of Owatonna, in a contribution to the Northwestern Miller, in answer to an inquiry regarding wind grist-mills, said: "I have operated a Halliday power mill since 1867 with satisfactory results. The wind wheel is 60 feet in diameter and furnishes 45 horse power. It runs three run of buhrs with all necessary machinery in a common gale. The wheels are perfectly self-regulating and durable. I have ground in one month 3,540 bushels of wheat and over 1,200 bushels of feed. As good flour can be made with wind power as with any power and as much per bushel. The mill runs about three-fourths of the time during the year, part of the time running one run of feed. There are seven 60-foot wind wheel flouring mills in this state, two in Wisconsin, one in Nebraska, and several more with smaller wheels, all doing a good business."

This description is doubtless news to most of the milling profession of Minnesota, as well as to many of our pioneer citizens. The writer talked as though he might be an agent for the Halliday mills, and before his words are accepted as verified history it might be well to have the subject of wind-grist mills investigated by a joint committee of eloquent members of the legislature now in session.

Nature laid the foundation for the milling industry of Minnesota when she filled the soil and atmosphere of this chief wheat belt on the globe with such a remarkable quality and quantity of food nutrition, and laid through the woods and across the prairies such a cordon of strong and reliable streams, carrying power to cheaply and efficiently convert the wheat of the Northwest into flour. After that, it was simply a matter of human energy and method; the ultimate result was assured. In 1899 Minnesota raised the largest wheat crop ever produced by this or any other state, and the largest mill-power ever got together in one state converted it, with half the crop of the Dakotas thrown in, into 25,000,000 barrels of flour,—enough to feed one-third of the people of the United States one year.

THE GOVERNMENT MILL OF 1823.

It is interesting to note that the first flour mill built in Minnesota was owned and run by the government, and that the first wheat raised was planted and harvested by the government. One of the first acts of Col. Snelling on taking possession of the fort named after him was to send a detachment of fifteen soldiers to St. Anthony falls to build a mill. Commissary Clark, father of Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve, who is still a resident of Minneapolis, was the first to suggest the raising of wheat and flour to support the soldiers. That was the beginning of Minnesota's wheat and flour industries.

At the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, twenty-one years ago this month, there was exhibited a letter, dated Washington, D. C., August 23, 1823, from General George Gibson, commissary general, as follows:

From a letter addressed by Col. Snelling to the quartermaster general, dated the 2nd of April, I learned that a large quantity of wheat would be raised this summer. The assistant commissary of subsistence at St Louis has been instructed to forward sickles and a pair of millstones to St. Peter's

If any flour is manufactured from the wheat raised, be pleased to let me know as early as practicable, that I may deduct the quantity manufactured at the post from the quantity advertised to be contracted for.

In a second letter General Gibson said:

Below you will find the amount charged on the books against the garrison at Fort St. Anthony for certain articles, forwarded for the use of the troops at the post, which you will deduct from the payments to be made for flour raised, and turned over to your free issue:

One pair buhr stones	$250.11
337 pounds plaster of Paris	20.22
Two dozen sickles	18.00
Total	$288.33

Such was the infantile milling plant and harvesting outfit with which the grain and milling industries of Minnesota saw daylight and a cradle. That was seventy-eight years ago, back in the infancy of the oldest pioneer members of this society.

THE FIRST CUSTOM MILLS.

It was not until about a quarter of a century later, that the first grist mills were built for the accommodation of the general population. The wheat industry and the milling industry properly may be said to cover a half century. The United States census of 1850 credits Minnesota with a wheat product of 1,401 bushels, and a flour product valued at just $500. In the fifty years history of our cereal industries, therefore, the wheat product has grown from 1,400 bushels to near 70,000,000, and the value of the flour output from $500 to about $100,000,000.

Excepting the government mill, the earliest flouring mill in Minnesota was built by Lemuel Bolles in Afton, Washington county, in the winter of 1845-6, as noted in Folsom's "Fifty Years in the Northwest." A grist mill had been built in Little Canada, Ramsey county, by Benjamin Gervais in 1844.

From 1850 to '55 small grist mills were planted on the streams of about a dozen counties of the territory. The river counties, Houston, Winona, Wabasha, Dakota, Washington, Chisago, Hennepin, Sherburne, and Stearns, were the first to build mills. Chatfield and Rochester had each a mill in 1855, and Northfield and Preston in 1856. E. P. Mills & Sons of Elk River, Sherburne county, place the date of construction of the little 30-barrel mill by the famous pioneer, Ard Godfrey, at that place,

in 1851. It was in 1851, also, that the first grist and merchant mill was erected at St. Anthony Falls, in East Minneapolis. It was built by Richard Rogers, between First and Second avenues southeast, and began business on May 1, 1851, as a grist mill with an equipment of one run of stone, all told, to grind corn. In 1852, Franklin Steele became partner in the enterprise, and the growth in the firm and capital was celebrated by the addition of a second run of stone to grind wheat as a merchant mill. This pioneer mill survived until the fire of 1857.

EARLIEST MERCHANT MILL AND EXPORT.

Merchant milling in Minneapolis made its first substantial beginning in 1854, when Eastman, Rollins and Upton erected on the lower end of Hennepin island a five-run mill, 40 by 60 feet, at a cost of $16,000. That it was a profitable enterprise, is shown by the fact that the firm realized $24,000 profit the first year. This mill was famous for the title, "The Minnesota," and it well earned its name. There was not wheat enough tributary to Minneapolis within the state in those days to supply the mill, and wheat was hauled by wagon 100 miles from Wisconsin, or was brought up the river by boat from Iowa.

"The Minnesota" was the first mill to ship Minnesota flour to eastern markets. This it did in 1858, paying $2.25 per barrel freight, which is over five times the present transportation rate and is three-fifths of the present value of the flour itself.

THE FIRST MILL CORPORATION.

New Ulm, the home of ex-Governor John Lind, lays claim to being the first town to incorporate a milling company under the laws and constitution of the state. Its articles of incorporation read: "Recorded in Vol. 1, pages 1, 2 and 3 of Incorporations." The firm name was the Globe Milling Company of New Ulm. The incorporators were the German Land Association. The purpose of the milling company was stated to be: "The business and object of this company is to manufacture lumber and flour. The capital stock of the company is $30,000; the number of shares, 1,500. The capital stock actually paid in is $265." The mill, which had a daily capacity of fifty barrels, was already constructed and in operation when Minnesota entered the Union as a

state. It was operated until the Sioux outbreak in August, 1862. At that time New Ulm had three mills: The Eagle, erected as a sawmill in 1856; the Globe, erected in 1857-8; and the Windmill, with "one set of buhrs for flour, and one run of stones for flaxseed," in 1859. All were burned to the ground in the Sioux attack of August 23, 1862. The Indians began firing the town to windward early in the day, burning 190 houses, including the Globe and Eagle mills. The Windmill, which held a strategic position at the foot of the range of hills, was used by the white riflemen as an outpost, during several hours of the fight, but finally succumbed to the flames.

The Eagle mill was rebuilt after the war and converted into a 4-run flour mill in 1867; again into a 225-barrel roller in 1881; and finally was enlarged by the present Eagle Roller Mill Company into a 1,200-barrel mill, being one of the best country mills in the state. As an outgrowth of the Globe Milling Company, the New Ulm Roller Mill Company, with Benjamin Stockman, president, and the veteran Charles L. Roos, secretary and treasurer, operates two mills of an aggregate capacity of 700 barrels. New Ulm has retained its early precedence as a milling town, and today boasts an annual output of 400,000 barrels of high grade flour. Brown county today runs eight flouring mills, with a total daily capacity of 3,500 barrels.

MILLING AT NORTHFIELD.

Two years before the incorporation of the Globe Mill Company at New Ulm, John W. North founded a mill and a town at Northfield. Jesse Ames & Sons bought the mill in 1864, building a new mill in 1869-70. The Ames mill was known as one of the most successful in southern Minnesota. Unlike the New Ulm mills, the Northfield mill did not have to contend with the Indians and fire; but it did have to fight the Grangers and water.

So impressed were the Grangers of Rice county with the success of the Ames mill, that they organized a company of well-to-do farmers and built another just a mile down the stream, starting up their mill in the winter of 1873-4. Spring opened with war. The Grange mill backed its water upon the Ames dam, and the Ames mill employed its tail race as a weapon of war to no avail. The result was a battle of lawsuits and newspaper articles,

which led to flowery eloquence, but not to profits in flour. It was at that time that Capt. John T. Ames achieved great celebrity, not only as a miller, but as a brilliant writer of Philippic invective. He always maintained that the Ames mill made larger profits and paid less for wheat after the Grange mill came into the field, than before.

THE FAME OF ARCHIBALD.

On the Cannon river, only three miles from the Ames mill, was the mill of the famous Archibald, the Scotchman who made Cannon river celebrated in eastern markets long before Pillsbury added fame to the upper Mississippi. Long before the new milling process was introduced in 1871, Minneapolis millers used to make trips to Dundas and peek into Archibald's mill, to see if they could fathom the secret of Archibald's flour beating Minneapolis flour $1 or more per barrel in the New York and Boston markets. Charles A. Pillsbury had an idea that the difference in the flour was due to the quality of the wheat. So he managed one day to put in his pocket a handful of the Ames and Archibald wheat; but when he got home he found the Cannon valley wheat no better than that in his own hoppers.

The difference was, that Archibald was his own scientific and practical miller. He dressed his stones with greater care, did better bolting, and used less pressure, and more even, in grinding, so that a whiter and purer flour was produced. He was also progressive, being among the first to use the new middlings purifier in 1871 and the roller process in 1880. A staff correspondent of the *Northwestern Miller*, March 24, 1876, then published at La Crosse, spoke of Archibald as "the man or firm who takes the leading place among the flour makers of this country or of the world."

THE GARDNER MILL AT HASTINGS.

As a boy, in 1859, I drove over from Janesville, Wisconsin, to St. Paul, and I still distinctly remember stopping at the famous Gardner mill at Hastings, on my trip both ways. This was not only one of the earliest, but one of the best mills of Minnesota. Scientific milling resulted in unusual prices and large profits for

the Hastings flour, because of its fame in eastern markets, at a time when Minneapolis flour yielded neither fame nor profit. The benefits of the middlings purifier process and high grinding with reduced speed and pressure, which were introduced in Minneapolis in 1871, were in great measure anticipated in the Hastings process of years before. By reducing the pressure and increasing the number of grindings, the Hastings mill avoided the undue heat which injured both the color and quality of the flour; and by special pains with both stone-dressing and bolting, the Gardner mill turned out a product which sold in the east at one to two dollars per barrel higher than the Minneapolis, the Wisconsin, or the best Illinois flour.

It is said that the Gardner mill, by its exceptional quality of flour, in the earlier days realized a profit as high as $3 per barrel, which beats all other records for profitable milling in the Northwest. The average mill of today is well satisfied with a net profit of ten cents. Successful milling in Hastings is by no means at an end. Only the other day Hastings exported to Europe a cargo of fifty cars of flour to fill a single contract.

"HONEST JOHN" KEARCHER.

The ups and downs of milling are well illustrated in the history of John Kearcher, the miller of Isinours on the Root river. The miller is a prey to more of the ills of business life, by fire, by flood, by drouth, by storm, by panic, and by patent sharks, than perhaps any other business man. John Kearcher's career is in point. Born in 1831, in Alsace, then a province of France, he lived successively in Canada, Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota. He came to Preston, Fillmore county, in 1855, and put up a mill which ran with success until the financial crash of 1857. He lost the mill, and afterward regained it, to lose it again. He then ran mills at Chatfield, Hampton, Fillmore, and Troy, and succumbed to fire, flood, and misfortune, until he landed on his back on the South branch of the Root river, with a debt of $30,000 and no assets except lost faith and confidence in every quarter. He then swore that he would live to pay up every dollar of debt and build one of the finest milling enterprises in the state. He managed to build a little mill with one four-foot stone and a two-foot pony and called it "Clear Grit." And "Clear Grit" won. Inside of ten years

it grew into a large modern structure of fourteen run of stone, one of the largest in southern Minnesota, and marketed 100 barrels or more daily of high-grade flour in the Chicago and Albany markets. "Honest John," as he was known to the trade, earned the unusual editorial tribute from a well-known milling journal, in 1877, of being "the maker of probably the best straight spring flour now manufactured in the United States, if not in the world."

RISE AND FALL OF MINNETONKA MILLS.

The ups and downs of milling are dramatically pictured in the tragic career of the once glorious, but now effete hamlet known as Minnetonka Mills, Hennepin county. As early as 1852, Simon Stevens, brother of Col. John H. Stevens, the founder of Minneapolis, started up Minnehaha creek to find the famous inland sea described by the Indians. He followed the creek until he came to lake Minnetonka, the sea in question. On the way he noted the rapids at the present site of Minnetonka Mills, and the next year he located a claim and built a mill which lived three years. In 1860, T. H. Perkins erected on the same site a three-and-one-half story mill, which afterward fell to the present congressman from Minneapolis, Hon. Loren Fletcher, and his partner, C. M. Loring. On Oct. 20, 1874, they organized the Minnetonka Mills Company. They doubled the size of the mill, put in four run of stone and nine double rolls, turned out 300 barrels of flour daily, which found a ready market in Boston, New York, and Europe, and then sold the plant to two Canadian capitalists for the round sum of $95,000.

The mill wheels at Minnetonka Mills never turned again. First, the new partners had their partnership tangle to settle. Then, the property owners at lake Minnetonka brought suits without end against the county for damage to property by reason of the dam raising the water level, and the county in turn laid violent hands upon the dam. Next came the owners of damaged property along Minnehaha creek. The result was fifteen years of lawsuits at a cost of $30,000 to Hennepin county taxpayers, and death and decay to the once blooming hamlet of Minnetonka Mills.

STATISTICS OF 1859-60.

The first report of the Minnesota commissioner of statistics,

Joseph A. Wheelock, on page 121, reviewing the flour industry of Minnesota for 1859-60, says:

> Two years ago Minnesota imported flour to supply the deficiencies in her own product. She has now probably 140 grist mills, 122 being the sum of those actually reported to this office. Some of these mills are very large and fine, and the quality of flour produced rivals the best eastern brands.

This earliest estimate of the statistics of Minnesota milling was apparently too large; for in the following year's report detailed figures, quoted from the government census, are given, placing the number of flour mills at 85, instead of 140. Of the 85 mills, 63 were run by water, and 22 by steam. The wheat ground amounted to 1,273,509 bushels, and the flour produced reached 254,702 barrels. The value of the entire mill product was $1,310,-431, as compared with $500 in 1850. The 1861 report estimated the daily output at Minneapolis to be 4,000 barrels, which is about one-third of the present output of the "Pillsbury A" mill.

The leading states in volume of flour production in 1860 were in order, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Virginia. The largest mill, 300,000 barrels per annum, was in Oswego, New York; the next two, 190,000 and 160,000, respectively, were in Richmond, Virginia; and the fourth, 140,000 barrels, in New York city. The value of the annual product of these mills was around $1,000,000 each. The so-called big mills of New York and Virginia in 1860 were about the same in capacity, but greatly inferior in mechanical perfection, to the mills of such Minnesota towns as St. Cloud, Mankato, New Ulm, Faribault, Northfield, Hastings, Red Wing, Wabasha, and Waseca, today.

MILLING IN 1870.

By the census of 1870, the 85 Minnesota mills of 1860 had multiplied to 216, requiring 281 water wheels and 38 steam engines, and representing 507 run of stone with a daily capacity of 61,314 barrels. The capital invested had grown from $587,000 in 1860 to $2,900,000; and the value of the milling product had increased from $1,300,000 to over $7,500,000. The output of the 216 mills represented about a million barrels of flour and half a million bushels of corn meal and feed. The milling industry had therefore more than trebled in the decade; although the aggregate flour output of 1870 is today very nearly equalled by one of

several Minnesota counties, even outside of Hennepin and St. Louis, while either one of two milling companies in Minneapolis ground last year five times more flour than the total amount credited to the state by the census of 1870.

The leading milling counties of 1870 by number of mills were: Hennepin, fourteen; Winona, thirteen; Rice and Goodhue, with eight each; and Houston, Le Sueur, and Stearns, with six mills apiece. In value of milling product, there were fourteen counties that made a showing of over $100,000: Hennepin, leading with $1,125,000; Rice and Winona, following close with about $800,000 each; Goodhue, the fourth, with $600,000; then Dakota, with close to $400,000; followed by Olmsted and Fillmore, with $200,000 to $250,000 each; and then, in order, Stearns, Le Sueur, Mower, Scott, Blue Earth, Meeker, and Houston, with a product of $100,000 to $160,000 each.

Flour manufacturing had not yet obtained a foothold in Duluth or the Red River valley. St. Paul was holding her own with a total of two mills and a product valued at $51,748. And speaking of St. Paul, permit me to say that however sensitive or seemingly hostile that city may have been as regards her sister town up the river in the matter of population figures and real estate bargains, St. Paul has never refused to eat Minneapolis flour. The fact will go down the corridors of history and stand as a monument of self-abnegation and sisterly affection, that for over twenty-five years the good and devout people of St. Paul, whenever they asked blessing upon the morning, noon, or evening meal, invoked the blessing of Providence upon bread made from Minneapolis flour.

BIRTH OF THE "NEW PROCESS."

The year 1870 stands as a landmark in the history of milling, because that was the year when Edmund N. La Croix of Faribault went to Minneapolis and introduced the middlings purifier into the "Washburn B" mill, thereby increasing the value of Minnesota flour $1 to $2 per barrel and the value of Minnesota spring wheat ten to forty cents per bushel.

For nearly three generations American millers had made little advance on the milling system invented by Oliver Evans. It was he who invented the American automatic mill. He made it possible, by the use of the elevator and conveyer and other appli-

ances, for a bushel of wheat to make the rounds of a two to seven story mill without the aid of a human hand from the time the grain was dumped by the farmer into the hopper at the platform until it reappeared as a barrel or sack of flour. The dusty miller might swap stories over the farm wagon, visit the neighboring inn, or go-a-fishing, and the old mill and babbling brook would pursue the even tenor of their way and grind the grist with business-like precision. From the inventions of Oliver Evans down to 1870, about the only improvements were the substitution of a French buhr stone for the granite, a silk bolting cloth for wool, with some advancement in cleaning the wheat and dressing the stones.

For a hundred years the ambition of American millers was to emulate the mills of the gods and grind "exceedingly fine," and likewise grind all the flour possible at one grinding. The mill-stones were set close together and run at as high speed as practicable, with the idea of reducing the grain into flour at one grinding. This was the fast reduction and low grinding process. Middlings, or meal from that part of the berry which lies beneath the bran covering and the starchy center, was a thing to be avoided; for the old-fashioned miller did not know what to do with them.

It was the mission of the "new process" to make middlings the most valuable part of the product. The middlings purifier, with its horizontal shaking screen and air blast for cleaning and separating the middlings, preserved for re-grinding that which for bread-making was by far the best portion of the wheat. Gluten, which not only gives bread its rising power or strength, but is the most nutritious quality in wheat for sustaining life, lies in the hard exterior of the kernel just beneath the bran covering, and therefore is contained in the middlings. Flour made from the purified middlings, according to the new process system, immediately commanded in the bread-making markets of the east from $1 to $2 per barrel higher than other Minnesota flour.

The result was a revolution in flour manufacture. Instead of making as little middlings as possible, the aim became to make as much middlings as possible. To do that, instead of grinding as much flour as possible at the first grinding, the aim became to grind as little flour as possible at the first grinding. So, instead of running the stones at the rate of 250 to 300 revolutions per min-

ute, they were run at 100 to 150. Instead of being set low or close together, they were set high so as to simply crack the berry at the first grinding for the liberation of the bran covering. Instead of reducing the kernel to flour at one grinding, the cracked chop was put through two or three grindings. Low and rapid grinding by the old process made of hard spring wheat dark and specky flour. Pressure and speed generated heat which made dark and pasty flour, damaged in both color and quality. The new process required more time and labor, but the far higher price repaid the extra effort handsomely.

EFFECT UPON WHEAT AND FLOUR PRODUCTION.

The effect upon wheat and flour production in the United States was marked. The wheat product rose from 287,000,000 bushels by the census of 1870, or 7.5 bushels per capita, to 459,000,000, or 9.2 per capita, in the census of 1880. Specially notable was the increase in yield in the Northwest, which produced hard spring wheat rich in gluten and middlings. Minnesota spring wheat, instead of standing low in the market, because of the large amount of dark middlings flour which it carried by the old process of milling, at once rose to the top of the market, because of the large proportion of fancy middlings patent which it yielded. In the ten-year period of 1870-80, Minnesota's wheat crop rose from 18,000,000 bushels to 34,000,000, nearly doubling, and the mills multiplied from 216 to 436. The capital invested in Minnesota mills rose from less than $3,000,000 in 1870 to over $10,000,000 in 1880. The sum paid by the millers to Minnesota farmers for wheat increased from $6,000,000 to $37,000,000, multiplying six fold, and the wages paid to mill employees grew from $293,000 to $1,371,000; while the value of flour produced rose from $7,500,000 to $41,000,000. The newly discovered wealth in the production of spring wheat on the prairies of the Northwest brought to Minnesota and the Dakotas a vast pilgrimage, and the blossoming of farms, railways, towns, and cities.

THE LA CROIXS OF FARIBAULT.

In 1861, Alexander Faribault, founder of the Minnesota town named after him, sent to Montreal for Nicholas La Croix to build for him a mill. La Croix came, and with him his brother, Ed-

mund N., and his son Joseph. After building the mill for Faribault, the La Croixs, in 1866, built at Faribault a mill for themselves. They were educated men, skilled millers and engineers, the two brothers being graduates of the "Ecole des Arts and Metiers" in France. Familiar with French milling and engineering works, as well as with French machines and processes, they began to experiment, and in 1868 made a draft of the middlings purifier patented in France by Perigault, August 16, 1860, and described in the French work by Benoit in 1863. They then constructed from this draft a machine with which they experimented at their Faribault mill during the next two years. But a freshet carried away their dam and they gave up their mill, Edmund N. La Croix moving to Minneapolis in 1870.

La Croix visited the millers of Minneapolis, and told them of the wonderful results which could be obtained from Minnesota spring wheat by his process. Some thought him visionary, and others feared he was insane. But George H. Christian, who was more of a student and had greater interest in scientific matters than most business men, had faith enough in La Croix and his project to give him opportunity to put a machine into the "Big Mill," the "Washburn B," which Christian was then operating. La Croix worked on his machine for a good part of a year, and with some later modifications it was a success. The machine was built in Minneapolis at the Minnesota Iron Works, owned by C. M. Hardenburgh & Co. It cost only $300, but it increased the price of Minneapolis and Minnesota flour from $1 to $3 per barrel. The success of the middlings purifier at the "Washburn B" soon spread; and Pillsbury, Archibald, Ames, and other enterprising millers, rapidly got the new machines.

The fate of the La Croixs is that of many inventors. They realized nothing from their study and enterprise. After introducing the new milling system into many Minnesota mills, Edmund went to Rochester, N. Y., and Nicholas to Milwaukee, where he suddenly died in 1874. Edmund followed his brother to the grave a week later. Nicholas left a widow, three daughters, and a son Joseph, in straitened circumstances. Joseph got together the various improvements inaugurated by himself, his father, and uncle, and secured patents, and then interested capital to manufacture the La Croix machines. But meantime the greed of the

patent sharks had resulted in the formation of a gigantic combination, which crushed La Croix and left him bankrupt, with three helpless women to provide for. A committee of three, of which Henry L. Little, manager of the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, and W. C. Edgar, editor and publisher of the *Northwestern Miller*, are members, is now pushing the cause of raising a subscription from the millers of America to pay the long-standing debt of the milling industry of the world to the La Croix family.

When the purifier combine, twenty years ago, attempted to levy upon the millers of America a royalty tribute that would have reached millions of dollars, and relied upon the La Croix patents in order to perfect a complete monopoly, the La Croix family stood by the millers in the fight and refused from the combine at one time a one-sixth interest in the proposed monopoly, and at another time a gratuity from the combine of $10,000. In the face of such loyalty and sacrifice, the millers of America should not now fail to stand by the La Croix family in an hour of need.

GRADUAL REDUCTION BY ROLLS.

After the middlings purifier, adopted from the French, came the iron and porcelain rolls, adopted from the Hungarians. In 1872, Minnesota millers, who for years had followed the English milling system handed down from colonial times, swore by every mill invention that was French, and in 1880 they vowed by everything that was Hungarian. The success of the middlings purifier in the Washburn mills caused Geo. H. Christian, the chief operator, to look for further novelties. He sent for the latest French and German works on milling, and learned of the chilled iron rollers used in the big mills of Hungary, in lieu of millstones. In 1874 he had a number of sets of rollers made for the big "Washburn A" mill just built. The experiment succeeded, and when the big mill was rebuilt after the explosion of 1878 it was equipped with rolls after the Hungarian pattern. Charles A. Pillsbury meantime had visited Hungary, and W. D. Gray, representing E. P. Allis, had made inventions which he perfected after a study of Hungarian milling. American ideas were engrafted, and the best principles of French and Hungarian milling were Americanized and reconstructed on the Yankee plan of an automatic mill.

The revolution in milling was complete. In 1870, the Washburn "big mill," the "B," was only a 600-barrel mill with twelve run of stone. The "Washburn A" of 1878 came out with an equipment of 86 sets of rollers,—48 corrugated iron, 26 smooth iron, and 12 porcelain,—through which the wheat, instead of being ground at one operation as by the old process, passed six times, being gradually reduced by six different breaks. After each break the chop or meal passed through the purifiers, of which there were 78, and the bolting reels, of which there were 148. The grain was prepared for the rolls by 58 cleaning machines, which successively removed the dust, the chaff, the oats, the cockle, polished the berry, removed the crease in the side and the beard at the end, and graded the kernels according to size. The "Washburn A" then had a capacity of 4,000 barrels daily, which was several times that of the biggest mills of the east. Then came the "Pillsbury A," larger still, the largest in the world, the first half only having an equipment of 94 sets of rollers, 100 middlings purifiers, and 170 reels, with a capacity of 4,500 barrels. The "Washburn A" today claims a capacity of 11,000 barrels, and the "Washburn C" over 8,000; while the "Pillsbury A" shows 13,000, and the "Pillsbury B" over 7,000,—the quartette of the largest hummers in the milling choir of the world.

It is interesting from the present point of view to look back to 1870, before the day of the first middlings purifier. George H. Christian states that, when Judd & Brackett retired in 1867 from the so-called "Washburn Big Mills," because unable to make them pay, men of experience in milling pronounced the 600-barrel mill, which was the jumbo of that day, as too large ever to be successful. Today the cities of St. Cloud, New Ulm, Mankato, and other towns that could be named, are operating mills of double that size. Duluth's big mill has many times that capacity. The smallest of the twenty-one mills now operating in Minneapolis is as large as the Washburn "big mill" of the old milling days; and sixteen range from three to twenty times the capacity of the mill which thirty years ago was pronounced too large for profitable running.

One reason for the increase in capacity is that the change from millstones to rolls has largely reduced the amount of power and mill-space required for a given output; but a more important

reason is, that the new system, with its more intricate processes and maze of machinery, is more economically run on a large scale.

THE MILL EXPLOSION OF 1878.

The history of Minnesota milling would not be complete without reference to the great explosion of 1878, perhaps the greatest catastrophe in the history of milling. Cut in a stone tablet on the north side of the "Washburn A" mill are the following words:

> THIS MILL WAS ERECTED IN THE YEAR 1879, ON THE SITE OF WASHBURN MILL "A," WHICH WAS TOTALLY DESTROYED ON THE SECOND DAY OF MAY, 1878, BY FIRE AND A TERRIFIC EXPLOSION OCCASIONED BY THE RAPID COMBUSTION OF FLOUR DUST. NOT ONE STONE WAS LEFT UPON ANOTHER, AND EVERY PERSON ENGAGED IN THE MILL INSTANTLY LOST HIS LIFE. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE NAMES OF THE FAITHFUL AND WELL TRIED EMPLOYEES WHO FELL VICTIMS OF THAT AWFUL CALAMITY, VIZ.
>
> E. W. BURBANK, CYRUS W. EWING,
> E. H. GRUNDMAN, HENRY HICKS,
> CHAS. HENNING, PATRICK JUDD,
> CHAS. KIMBALL, WM. LESLIE,
> FRED. A. MERRILL, EDWD. E. MERRILL,
> WALTER SAVAGE, OLE SHIE,
> AUGUST SMITH, CLARK WILBUR.
>
> "Labor, wide as earth,
> Has its summit in Heaven."

This inscription tells the story. It was the largest and best equipped mill at that time in America. It was 138 by 110 feet on the ground, six-and-one-half stories high, and was fitted out with 42 run of French buhr stone, 100 reels, and 80 purifiers. The walls were of solid masonry, and for the first story were six feet thick, and built down to the bedrock. The 80 purifiers had small fans, but no dust collectors. The mill was full of dust, and the millers commonly wore sponges for the protection of mouth and nose. The walls were blown down to the foundation and fell outward.

W. D. Gray, a mill expert, who at one time was employed in the Washburn mills, speaks of previous experiences which the millers had with the explosion of mill-dust. At one time several of the men had a severe shock from a slight explosion, and at another time the roof was partially lifted by the explosion in a dust room.

In the great explosion of 1878, the fire is supposed to have

started in some of the machinery before its communication to the dust room. There were eighteen lives lost, as partly named above, and six mills were wholly destroyed, as follows: Washburn A, 42 run; Diamond, 6 run; Humboldt, 8 run; Zenith, 6 run; Galaxy, 12 run; and Pettit-Robinson, 15 run; total, 99 run of stone. They were all promptly rebuilt with purifiers and buhr stones, not waiting for rolls, which at that time were being experimentally introduced. Property was damaged by the explosion in cases nearly a mile away, and the total loss exceeded a million dollars.

Governor C. C. Washburn, at the time, was building a new mill near the others. On the morning after the explosion he paced off a distance beyond the foundation as planned, and, driving a stake at the point to which he paced, said to the architect: "Build your mill out to here;" and it was done. The hastily added space, however, gave the new "Washburn C" more room than it could economically utilize until 1899.

MINNESOTA FLOUR EXPORT TRADE.

In 1858, the year Minnesota became a state, the people of this great wheat and flour producing commonwealth, according to the authority of both Joseph A. Wheelock and Ignatius Donnelly, were compelled to import a considerable portion of their flour. Horace Greeley, in a letter to J. W. McClung in 1858, confessed that his earliest impression of Minnesota was unfavorable, on the following ground: "I saw that your state imported not only loafers in great abundance, but the bread they ate as well as the whisky they drank; and I did not see how she could stand it (you must pardon my weakness) in the defection of home industry." The state statistician, Joseph A. Wheelock, found in 1859, however, that we were beginning to export flour. He discovered that we shipped out by way of La Crosse and Prairie du Chien, for example, 403 bales of buffalo robes, 100 bales of furs, 343 bushels of cranberries, 70,218 pounds of ginseng, and the grand total of 114 barrels of flour. Such was the first ripple of the tidal wave to follow.

From 1860 to 1870 Minnesota shipments of flour to eastern markets gradually increased until they reached several hundred thousand barrels. Among the leaders in this eastward business were Archibald of Dundas and Gardner of Hastings, the "Vermillion flour" of the latter being a much celebrated brand. It was

not until 1878, however, that Minneapolis began to send direct exports abroad, independently of the New York and Boston middlemen. The delay and cost incident to shipment through the hands of eastern agents at length could not be borne, and Gov. C. C. Washburn got the well-known milling and elevator man, W. H. Dunwoody, to spend several months abroad and secure direct relations with European buyers. There was great opposition among New York middlemen for a time; but the enterprise was a complete success.

Direct exports from Minneapolis to foreign ports began in 1878 with 107,183 barrels. In five years the figure was multiplied ten times. For a period of years our direct export trade was stable, but comparatively stationary, and then after 1890 it again advanced. In 1890 our direct exports were 2,000,000 barrels, and in 1891 3,000,000 was reached. In 1899 Minneapolis topped 4,000,000 barrels as the direct export to foreign markets; and in 1900 it was 4,702,485, being one-fourth of the total exports of flour from the United States. Next to Minneapolis as a direct exporter stands Duluth, which in 1898 reached close to 1,000,000 barrels.

The principal foreign consumer of Minneapolis flour is the United Kingdom. During the ten months ending with October last, there were exported from the United States to foreign markets, all told, something over 15,000,000 barrels of flour; but over 8,000,000 barrels, or more than one-half, went to the United Kingdom. Next after Great Britain, the best consumer of American flour is the West Indies; and then follow, in order, Hong Kong, Brazil, and Germany. Oregon and other Pacific coast mills principally supply the Hong Kong and other Oriental trade, and the mills of our more southerly and easterly states have paid more attention than Minnesota to the West India and South American trade. Great Britain and the European continent are the principal foreign market for Minnesota flour. But geography and differences of language and customs are no obstacles to the Minnesota miller. He obliterates time, distance, and nationality, if there is a mouth on the globe that can eat bread; and Minnesota flour is the most cosmopolitan thing on the earth today. It is eaten by the German and the Jap, the Englishman and the Boer. It goes to the Arctic and the tropic zones, and conquers all competitors, colors, and climes.

Minnesota flour shipments are a large factor in the business

of the Soo canal; and the traffic of that great inland channel marks in a way the progress of Minnesota flour sales in eastern and foreign markets. In 1871, when the new milling process was just beginning to see day in Minneapolis, the flour shipments of the Soo canal were only 26,000 barrels. In 1881 the Soo canal flour shipments had multiplied twenty-fold and were 600,000 barrels. By 1891 nearly 4,000,000 barrels were reached; and for the year just closed the total will reach 8,000,000. Today over 90 per cent. of the flour ground in Minnesota is eaten by eastern states and foreign nations, and of the Minneapolis product over 97 per cent. is shipped away, the shipments of the year just closed reaching 14,800,000 barrels, of which one-third is eaten abroad and the balance in the eastern states.

MINNESOTA MILLS IN 1900.

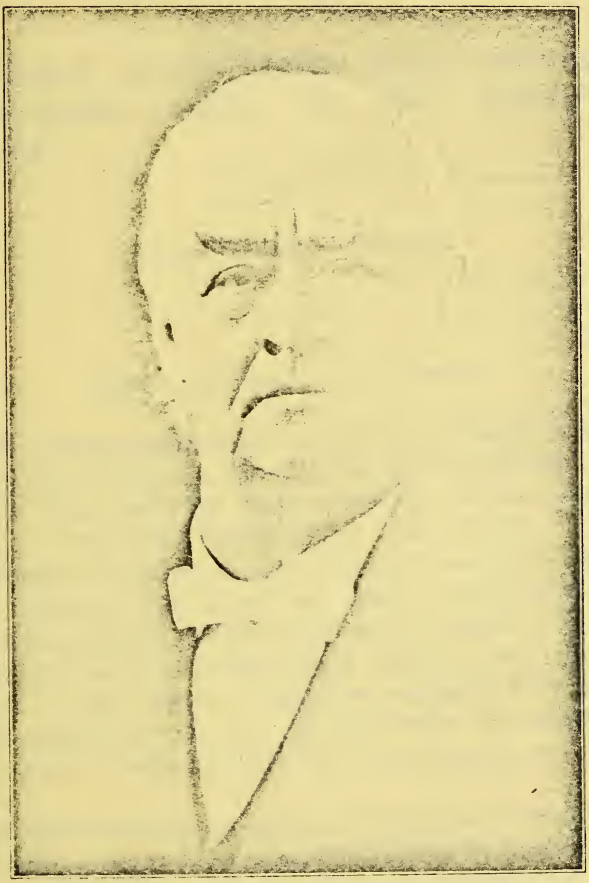
The census of 1890 gave Minnesota 307 flour and grist mills, employing 4,038 hands at $2,243,855 wages, and paying out $52,383,857 for grain, while turning out $60,158,088 worth of flour.

There are in Minnesota in 1901 about 400 flour and grist mills. The capacity of twenty-one mills at Minneapolis exceeds 75,000 barrels daily, and they grind annually 70,000,000 bushels of wheat into 15,000,000 barrels of flour. The state gazetteer enumerates about 200 Minnesota mills, outside of Minneapolis and Duluth, with an aggregate daily capacity of over 42,000 barrels, and 180 others whose capacity is not given. Placing the capacity of this 180 conservatively at 20,000 barrels, we arrive at about 140,000 barrels daily as the milling capacity of the state. It is fair therefore to state that Minnesota mills consume from 110,000,000 to 120,000,000 bushels of grain per annum, and turn out upwards of 25,000,000 barrels of flour a year, which is enough to sustain one-third of the nation.

The ten largest milling centers in America today, as measured by their flour output in 1899, are as follows: Detroit, 594,700 barrels; Nashville, 630,803; Buffalo, 1,068,944; Kansas City, 1,094,846; Chicago, 1,125,745; Toledo, 1,150,000; St. Louis, 1,166,439; Milwaukee, 1,737,826; Duluth-Superior, 1,763,920; Minneapolis, 14,291,780. It is gratifying that Minnesota contains within her boundaries the two largest milling centers in the Union,

and that one of them grinds more flour in a year than all the other nine put together and 4,000,000 barrels added.

In conclusion, permit me to say that at the World's Exposition at Paris during the past year, bread made from Minnesota flour carried off the prize medal for the best bread in the world, and that Minnesota flour likewise took the first premium in the contest for the best flour in the world, showing that Minnesota holds the world's sweepstakes both for the quantity and quality of product.



Thomas Simpson

THE EARLY GOVERNMENT LAND SURVEY IN MINNESOTA WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.*

BY HON. THOMAS SIMPSON.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT SURVEYS.

Well founded tradition gives to George Washington, the first President of the Republic, the credit of devising the plan for the survey of lands which for nearly a century has been applied to the survey of the public domain of the United States.

This plan or system of surveys has as its unit the square acre; then the section, a mile square, 640 square acres; then the township, six miles square, containing 36 square sections. The townships lying between two consecutive meridians six miles apart constitute a range, and the ranges are numbered from principal meridians both east and west. In each range the townships are numbered both north and south from the principal east and west base line.

For obvious reasons the author of this plan or system of land surveys did not have the occasion for putting the same into practical operation, since each of the thirteen colonies had adopted systems of surveys of the lands granted them by Great Britain, which could not readily be conformed to this system. It was inaugurated and carried out in the survey of lands which have come into the possession of the general government after the adoption of the constitution, known generally as Government Lands, sometimes as Public Lands, or as the General Domain.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, December 11, 1899.

This plan of surveys was to some extent inaugurated in 1803 by Col. Jared Mansfield, then surveyor general of the Northwest Territory; and was subsequently enacted as a law, in 1804, upon the recommendation of President Jefferson.

The more general feature of this plan of surveys of the public domain, thus devised and covered by the enactment of Congress, provides for the establishment of principal meridians, extended north and south from an east and west base line. These are numbered from the east to the west, as the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth principal meridians; and the lands in Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi river are all described as west of the fifth principal meridian.

These principal meridians were established in the beginning, in the successive "land districts," over each of which was appointed a surveyor general, who controlled the surveys in his district, subject to such rules, regulations, and directions, as should be given him from time to time by the commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington. Hence the first principal meridian was the most easterly, in the first surveyor general's land district designated by the general government.

It is not, perhaps, strictly germane to the special subject to be presented in this paper, that I should enter into a more particular description of these principal meridians, and the points upon the east and west base lines from which they were respectively run and established. I have in this paper to deal mainly with the government survey of public lands in Minnesota lying west of the Mississippi river, which, as I have already stated, were and are described as west of the fifth principal meridian.

That a clearer understanding of these surveys may be given, it should be stated that the east and west base line from which the townships in Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota west of the river, are numbered, passes nearly through the center of the State of Arkansas. The townships in the first tier on the north side of that line are designated as numbered one north, and each township in the first tier south of that line is designated and described as township number one south,—counting north and south from this base line.

This will answer and explain the oft repeated inquiry, what this word *north* means in describing townships in Minnesota. When, in describing land, after giving the number of the section,

we say, for instance, in township number 120 north, we mean it is that number north, counting from the east and west base line I have referred to.

We also say such or such a range number west, meaning west of the fifth principal meridian.

The number of townships from the base line in central Arkansas up through Missouri and Iowa to the south boundary line of Minnesota is 100; so that the north tier of townships in Iowa next to the state line is numbered 100, and the south tier of townships in Minnesota north of and next to the boundary line is numbered 101, the next 102, and so on.

The government surveys of public lands in Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi river have as their east and west base line the south boundary of the state of Wisconsin, or, to speak more accurately, the boundary line between the states of Illinois and Wisconsin. Therefore the numbering of the townships of the public surveys of lands in Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi river is entirely different from the numbering of townships west of the river. Most of the government surveys of land in Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi river were completed very early, and before the surveys of lands west of the river were made.

The two systems of surveys have no connection, except that in the northern part of our state there are lands, east of the river, which are described as being west of the fifth principal meridian.

CONVERGENCY OF MERIDIANS.

Very early in the history of the surveys of the public lands of this country, a difficulty arose because of what is now generally called "the convergency of meridians." It was found by actual measurement (which should have been known without) that these principal meridians, starting from points on an east and west base line and running therefrom on a true north course to their intersection with the Great Lakes, were, at such northern intersection, nearer one another than at the points where they started from the base line. The effect of this convergency of the principal meridians was to fractionalize the sections and townships in northern Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, so that in those parts of these states the government surveys produced townships

six miles in length north and south, and less than two miles in width east and west, and sections a mile in length, north and south, by a few rods wide east and west, thus destroying the unit, the square acre, the section a mile square (640 acres), and the township six miles square, of thirty-six sections. It should be stated that this same serious effect is manifest in the surveys of the public lands in northern Iowa, the northern boundary of which is six hundred miles north of the base line in Arkansas.

An attempt to remedy this difficulty by running a series of east and west correction lines, parallel to the base lines, only corrected the difficulty to a limited extent.

In 1850 this whole matter was referred to a commission of intelligent scientific men, with Prof. Edward D. Mansfield of Cincinnati, Ohio, as chairman, who made a report to the commissioner of the General Land Office, which report was approved and adopted by that department and made the basis of instruction to the surveyor generals in the survey of the public domain thereafter.

GUIDE MERIDIANS AND STANDARD PARALLELS.

The change in the public surveys, as recommended by Mansfield and adopted by the government, was substantially as follows: That what should be known as "guide meridians" should be run north from an established east and west base line forty-two miles apart, offsetting a quarter of a mile at every twenty-four mile station on such guide meridian to provide against convergency. These guide meridians were to be intersected by what should be known as "standard parallels," east and west lines twenty-four miles apart, thus dividing the public lands into what were to be known and are known as cheques, measuring forty-two miles east and west by twenty-four miles north and south, with twenty-eight square townships in every cheque, except those made fractional and smaller by bordering on some great natural boundary, as, for instance, the Mississippi river.

The greatest care was to be observed in running the guide meridians and standard parallels. They could only be run with an astronomical instrument known as a solar compass, one of the most perfect and useful instruments ever invented for running

lines. Having adjusted its latitude and declination arcs, a line as perfect as the movement of the sun can be run with it; and the exact variation of the magnetic needle at any place is readily determined by it, as well as exact time.

Two sets of assistants, compassmen, chainmen, axemen and markers, were to be employed at the same time in the running of these lines, so as to guard against possible error. The variation of the needle, as shown by the solar compass, was to be carefully noted every quarter of a mile, or oftener if necessary, as a guide to the surveyors who should come after to run the township and section lines.

This new system for conducting the surveys of the public lands by the government was first inaugurated in the State of California in the autumn of 1852, and next in Minnesota west of the Mississippi river, early in the spring of 1853.

SURVEYS IN SOUTHEASTERN MINNESOTA, 1853-55.

As I had, to some extent, personal supervision and charge of that work in Minnesota in 1853, 1854, and 1855, I may be pardoned if hereafter in this paper it seems necessary to make some few references of a personal nature.

Minnesota at that time was included, with Iowa and Wisconsin, in a surveyor general's district. The office of the surveyor general was at Dubuque, Iowa. Hon. Warner Lewis was surveyor general. The boundary line between Iowa and Minnesota was run and established by Capt. Andrew Talcott of the Topographical Bureau in 1852, the next year after the Indian title to lands in southern Minnesota was extinguished by treaty. It was currently reported that Captain Talcottt, in running this boundary line, had with him as assistants and other employees about three hundred men. The work was not done under contract. I traversed that line from the river west a hundred and fifty miles, early in 1853. The travel of Talcott's company over the line made it like a highway then, and there were strewed along it abundant evidences that at times, at least, great hilarity must have prevailed among the men under his command.

It is but just that I should state that the preliminary line of this boundary was run by Captain Marsh of Dubuque with a solar

compass; and it was not changed a particle by Captain Talcott and his assistants, but was verified by them after making the most thorough scientific tests thereof.

In January, 1853, the surveyor general, Warner Lewis, gave a contract to Elisha S. Norris to run the first, second, and third guide meridians in Minnesota, west of the Mississippi river, and the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh standard parallels. The work was to be paid for by the government, ten dollars per mile for running and establishing the guide meridians, and eight dollars per mile for standard parallels. Mr. Norris had been state surveyor of Maine, and he stood high as an engineer and surveyor. He had for some years been a deputy surveyor of the surveyor general's office at Dubuque; he had made a careful study of the new plan of prosecuting government surveys which had been devised and suggested by Mansfield; and, because of this, had been selected to introduce this new system in the new Territory of Minnesota. Mr. Norris had been my preceptor, and I came with him into Minnesota as one of his assistants in this work.

In the beginning of this work, in the remote southeast corner of the then Territory, Mr. Norris had the misfortune to get his solar compass out of adjustment in passing through a dense thicket, slightly bending both the declination and latitude arcs. He did not discover it until the inspector of surveys, who was following closely on the line with a solar compass and chainmen, called his attention to it and at once reported the blunder to the surveyor general's office. Mr. Norris was recalled. A great clamor, born of envy and jealousy on the part of the other deputy surveyors of the office, compelled Gen. Lewis reluctantly to relieve him, and, because of his desire to make the matter as agreeable as possible to Mr. Norris, and because of the well known partiality of the surveyor general for myself, together with political influence to a certain extent from friends (we were all simon-pure Democrats then), the supervision of these surveys was given to me, then in my seventeenth year, and I established these guide meridians and standard parallels in the years 1853 to 1855.

The first line established was not a guide meridian, strictly, but rather a line beginning on the state line, on the east side of range four, running north thereon till it intersected the Missis-

sippi river at or near where the city of La Crescent is now situated.

After completing this line, we returned and went west on the state line forty-two miles to a point between ranges ten and eleven, and thence ran the first guide meridian north between these ranges, making the required offsets every twenty-four miles. This meridian intersects the Mississippi river at the foot of lake Pepin, just a little above Read's Landing. Returning on this guide meridian to the state line, we measured west thereon forty-two miles to a point between ranges seventeen and eighteen, from whence the second meridian was run north between these ranges, making the required offsets, till it intersected the Mississippi river close above the city of Hastings. Returning again to the state line, we once more measured west thereon forty-two miles to a point between ranges 24 and 25, where the south point of the third guide meridian was established; and thence we ran it north between these ranges to its intersection with the Mississippi river near Monticello. The third guide meridian passes through the "Big Woods," crosses the Minnesota river at Belle Plaine, goes about three miles west of lake Minnetonka, and thence crosses the Crow river and Pelican lake to its intersection with the Mississippi.

So careful was the government in the establishment of these base lines, that the instructions were modified as to running the third guide meridian, requiring that it should be run during the winter season, after the large number of lakes which were supposed to be thereon were frozen solid, so that the chainmen could actually measure the line over them, and not trust to mathematical calculation from triangulation or other methods of determining distances across impassable places. I was engaged in establishing this meridian nearly five months, from some time in November, 1853, to some time in April, 1854. I ran the standard parallels intersecting these guide meridians. Afterward I did some township and section work, and terminated my connection with the surveyor general's office at Dubuque, January 1, 1856, at which time I came to Winona, where I have ever since resided.

The plan of the government surveys of the public domain devised by Mansfield has to a very great extent answered the purpose intended. The sections and townships in Minnesota, west of the Mississippi river, were not fractionalized by the convergency of meridians; and I am also told that this is true of the survey of

public lands by the government in California and elsewhere in the Union, where from that time this plan has been followed in the survey of all public lands held by the government.

Perhaps it would not be out of place, in closing this paper, to make some reference to a few incidents of more or less historic interest which I met with at the time of making these early government surveys, and to refer to my acquaintance at that time with some of the earliest pioneers of Minnesota.

CASTLE ROCK AND THE ZUMBRO RIVER.

In running a line some distance southwest of Hastings one very bright summer day, we came upon a white sandstone pillar on the smooth open prairie. It was quite high and impressed us as peculiar, being in that locality without any other similar formation near it, glistening in the bright sunlight. Some of my company clambered up this natural obelisk far enough to find cut in the sandstone the name of Nicollet and the date 1837. The government had furnished me with copies of Nicollet's maps of the survey he had made in this country, and we examined them and found this pillar of white sandstone indicated thereon. That Nicollet had carved his name there in 1837, I have for good reasons doubted; but that he visited and took note of what is now known as Castle Rock, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt.

I want to bear testimony to the wonderful fidelity and accuracy of this savant and explorer in marking the topography of this section of the country as shown in his maps. The main streams and water courses of southern Minnesota were most accurately indicated by him on his topographical maps, copies of which I had.

A somewhat curious and interesting etymological result grew out of the name given by the early French voyageurs, and thence by Nicollet, to the water courses, streams, and river, which drain the counties of Dodge, Olmsted, and Wabasha, now known as Zumbro river. The French name was Rivière aux (or des) Embarras, referring to the difficulties (embarassments) of navigating it with canoes. This river, which flows east through Wabasha county was named "Des Embarras river" by Nicollet, and this was followed by me in the report of the survey of guide meridians and standard parallels which crossed this river and its tributaries.

Hence Des Embarras was the name given to this river upon all the early maps of Minnesota. Its Sioux name was Wazi-oju, meaning "the pine place," for the white pine trees which occur sparingly on its bluffs. When English-speaking people settled the lands bordering on this stream, they adopted the French name, but found it difficult to give the French pronunciation. After many unsuccessful efforts, it finally resulted in the name Zumbro for this stream and its tributaries.

THE WINNEBAGO INDIANS.

Before starting out to run the third guide meridian, I was advised that if the line passed through or near the place where the Winnebago Indians were located, I and my men might have trouble, as these Indians were greatly dissatisfied about something; and I was assured by the Department that a messenger should be sent from Fort Snelling to apprise me of the exact state of affairs with the Winnebago Indians, and if there was danger I should abandon the line. No messenger ever came, or, if he did come, he failed to find me; so the alarm and fear of my men and myself, eighteen in all, can readily be imagined, when we reached a place on the line where the snow was all tramped down, unmistakable evidence of human beings in the vicinity. It was late in the afternoon and in a dense forest, and, if my recollection is right, it was on the Crow river. I set my compass, and my men came up and we stood for a few minutes in consultation, when out from behind a tree near us, came an Indian, gun in hand, white blanket on, and otherwise comfortably well dressed. He spoke to us, saying, "How do you do?" Soon other Indians came out from behind the trees, and then others, in such numbers that we were ready to believe, literally, that "the woods were full of them." They were wonderfully interested in my compass and surveying outfit, the chain, the tally pins, etc. They told us, as best they could, that, hearing the noise we made coming up through the woods, they took us for an attacking party of Indians, but they were glad to know we were white men.

I asked who they were, and they said, "Winnebagoes," and that Winneshiek, their chief, was farther down. We camped, and, taking one of my men with me and after passing through a most awful cordon of yelping dogs, I called on Winneshiek that

evening. Whether this was a title or a name I knew not, but he received us kindly, speaking in fair English. He complained bitterly of his treatment by the Indian commissioners and other government officials, who, he said, had either deposed or wanted to depose him, and to get another chief to give away his lands. I assured him that I had nothing to do with such matters, and joined him heartily in his righteous indignation at the manner he was being outraged. He not only made us no trouble, but next morning, when we passed through on the line, three rods west of his tepee, he gave us a large quantity of fine venison for a reasonable compensation. I was led to believe that this was a large band of Winnebagoes hunting off their reservation.

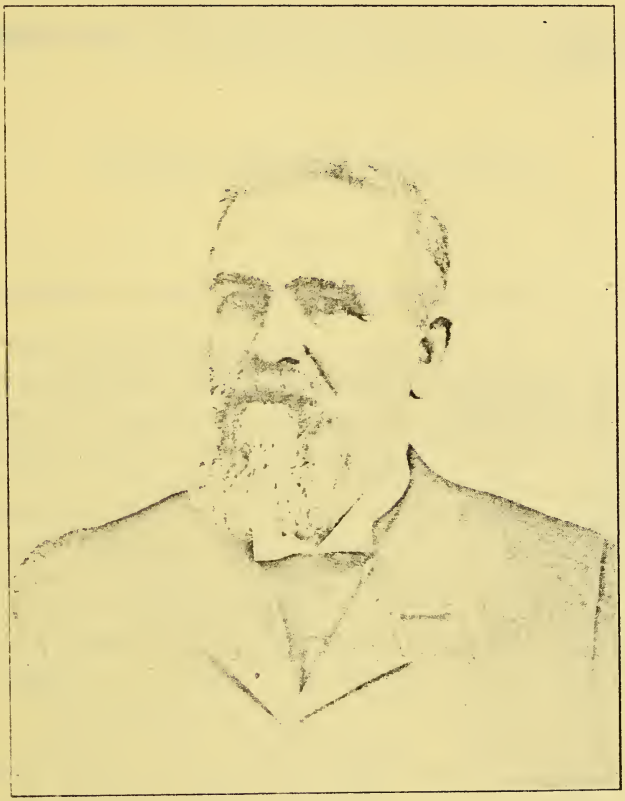
PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.

In the autumn of 1854, I met at Mendota Captain Tilton and Major Reno, who had just completed the survey of a military road from Sioux City to Fort Snelling. Major Reno was greatly interested in my solar compass, and asked me if he could bring around the next day, to see this instrument, Capt. George B. McClellan, who had just come from the west to consult Gov. Isaac I. Stevens in regard to the Northern Pacific Railroad surveys. They came the following day, and, of course, I "spread myself" in explaining the use and merits of the solar compass to these distinguished West Pointers. I recall that Reno said it was a shame that this instrument had not been introduced for use in the army engineering, and the only reason he could give was, that it had not been invented by an army officer.

While making these surveys, I met a few of the early pioneers, notably General Sibley, who laid me under great obligations for much kindness and consideration, and Joseph R. Brown, at whose hospitable home, at Henderson, I was entertained four weeks while waiting for instructions. I was greatly impressed with Joseph R. Brown in many ways. I recall now quite vividly the impression I had then, that he was the smartest man I had ever met.

I also made the acquaintance of Henry M. Rice, Alexander Faribault, and Alexis Bailly. I think I met Martin McLeod. I met Governor Gorman and many others, all of whom I remember most kindly. They all did what they could for me. For some

reason unknown, I had not the good fortune during this time to meet the most illustrious of all these, Governor Ramsey. Minnesota was and is greatly indebted to its earliest pioneers. Many of them were men of culture and refinement, all of them strong men, brave, hospitable, courteous, and kind. What a welcome they gave all those who came to make a home in this beautiful land and glorious commonwealth!



A. W. Pendergast.

SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY OF HUTCHINSON.*

BY HON. WILLIAM W. PENDERGAST.

FOUNDING OF THE TOWN BY THE HUTCHINSON SINGERS.

The gradual decadence of the gold excitement which drew so many thousands to California during the half dozen years succeeding the discovery of gold there in 1848, turned the tide of migration toward the west borders of the Mississippi. Long trains of west-bound travelers headed for Chicago every morning and evening from New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Chicago was the great distributing point. There all stopped to catch their breath and take their bearings, and the thirty-year-old city at the head of lake Michigan seized the business which Chagres had snatched during the California boom. She took advantage of her opportunity, and also, I fear, of her innocent tenderfoot victims. The immense tidal wave was there divided. One branch flowed southwest into "bleeding Kansas," following up Massachusetts' "thirty thousand moral rifles," the war cry being "Freedom for Kansas." The other stream swept northwest to the region of the "sky-tinted waters."

In the spring of 1855, I was caught up in Massachusetts and swirled along in this mighty movement of restless humanity, but not to the land of gold. Chicago, "the Garden City," was to be my Ultima Thule, my firm abiding place, but

"The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft a-gley."

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, February 11, 1901.

Two months later I was plodding my weary pilgrim way through southern Minnesota, "spying out the land" and weighing its future. It seemed to be a beautiful land, just as it came from the hand of nature, and any farmer should have been satisfied with a hundred and sixty acres of it. But I was told that a hundred miles or more to the northwest, on the borders of the "Big Woods," the soil was still better and the outlook even more alluring. That promising, if not "promised," land I then and there resolved to see before many moons had waxed and waned. The trip I was then taking could not be prolonged, on account of work awaiting me in Milwaukee and Chicago.

In October I started out on my second Minnesota trip, upon which two weeks were spent in explorations to the north, east, and south of the Falls of St. Anthony. By that time it was getting too late for the survey of the Big Woods country, if the job was to be a thorough one.

Fired with zeal for the new land, I went back as far as Milwaukee, and in a few days had the pleasure of hearing my old friends, the Hutchinson family, from Milford, N. H.,—Judson, John, and Asa,—sing to a full house,

"We've come from the mountains of the old Granite State,"

and other inspiring songs, rendered as only they knew how. After the concert, at my invitation they all promised to call on me the next day, which they accordingly did. In our pleasant talk they unfolded to me their plans for the future. They had started out to sing their way through to Kansas, there to found a village, call it Hutchinson, make homes for themselves, build up the town, join the "Jayhawkers" and squelch the "Border Ruffians." Said I, "Why not skip all that blood and poetry, go to Minnesota, the most favored country on the earth, and found a city that you will always be proud of?" "Have you been there?" they asked. "Yes." Then question followed question, like shots from a Gatling gun. The answers were satisfactory, and led to the settlement of the town of Hutchinson in McLeod county, Minnesota.

Hither many later immigrants have been attracted, and they are now faithfully working shoulder to shoulder with the old timers, who have borne the burden and the heat of the day, to make this what it certainly bids fair to become, the most charming and

delightful, the most cozy and truly homelike place in the Northwest.

The result of the conference was an immediate change of plans on the part of the Hutchinsons, who had in so short a time become convinced that their horoscope had not been rightly interpreted. It was agreed that my cousin, Roswell H. Pendergast, should go along with them, and that I should stay through the winter, dispose of my photographing business, and follow on the first boat that should go through from Galena to St. Paul in the spring of 1856. The objective point was some place in the charming region west of the Big Woods, to which allusion has already been made. The exact spot was to be fixed upon by the Hutchinsons, their advance agent, E. E. Johnson, and R. H. Pendergast, who went with them.

Having arrived at the little village on the west side of the Mississippi adjoining the Falls of St. Anthony, they were lucky enough to fall in with an educated and enterprising young civil engineer, by the name of Lewis Harrington, who readily entered into the spirit of their plans, and who without hesitation accepted an earnest invitation to become a member of the company. Before they left this little settlement, Col. John H. Stevens, its father, B. E. Messer, an accomplished musician and former singing master, John H. Chubb, a young bachelor from Whitehall, N. Y., Henry Chambers, an unnaturalized Canadian, Lucius N. Parker, and John Calef, were duly initiated into the fraternity.

November 16, 1855, the company, with two two-horse teams and a week's supplies, sallied forth like Don Quixote, "in quest of adventures." The general plan formulated at Milwaukee had been talked over and deliberated upon till it was made more specific by fixing upon a favorable location on the Hassan river (now called the South branch of the Crow river) northwest of Glencoe as the most desirable place for the new settlement. There was a good road as far as to Shakopee, which was at that time larger than Minneapolis. There the first night was spent.

November 17. Without waiting for breakfast, so anxious were they all to get a glimpse of the town of which they were to be the fathers, they started out betimes in the morning, and, crossing the ferry five miles farther up the Minnesota, reached

Carver in season for breakfast. From Carver the road, if the straggling path made through the woods by the Glencoe settlers earlier in the season could be dignified by such a name, suddenly became much worse. Numerous stumps, deep ruts, and deeper chuck-holes, mud and fallen trees, opposed their passage.

Nightfall found them weary and way-worn, with the aspect of "the knight of the sorrowful countenance," their horses jaded, and with a bag of game consisting of a brace of ducks, three partridges, a solitary rabbit, and a squirrel, on the banks of a small stream two or three miles east of the present site of Young America, and eleven miles from Carver. By this stream they prepared to camp for the night. The game was soon skinned, dressed, roasted, and disposed of in the most hearty if not the most approved style; and no dinner at the West Hotel, nor even at Delmonico's, was ever better enjoyed.

November 18. At daylight the camp was astir. After a "picked up" breakfast, the tent was struck and the pilgrims were moving toward their Mecca. A couple of partridges roasted before an improvised fire, with a pound or two of hardtack, served for dinner. Buffalo creek was crossed before sunset, Chambers going ahead and breaking the ice with his feet. As the water was three feet deep and Glencoe five miles away, he unwillingly admitted that he got but little fun out of this operation.

Over a smoother way better time was now made, and twilight found our explorers on the outmost verge of civilization. They would have had to push their way 2,000 miles farther unless they changed their course, before reaching another town or meeting a white man.

Doty's Hotel, a one-story log building "with all the modern improvements," offered them a welcome, a shelter and first-class accommodations at first-class rates, and there they ensconced themselves for the night.

November 19. With A. J. Bell, a Glencoe surveyor, for a guide, the line of march was resumed. As the road they had been following ended at Glancoe, the scattered groves were the only landmarks. They struck the Hassan river at the bend near the spot where Philip Busson, the Frenchman, now lives. Here was a delightful grove, resplendent with the gorgeous hues of a Minnesota Indian summer. The air was crisp and invigorating. The scene was charming, and the party would willingly have taber-

nacled there. The sky, the earth, the air, the overarching trees, the shimmering stream, the fertile soil, were so many Circes wooing them to stay.

Thanks, however, to Mr. Bell, who assured them that there was a better place six miles farther up the river, the company, after a few deep-drawn sighs, reluctantly moved on, some on foot, and some riding in the wagons, these being the first to reach the "promised land." While they were pitching their tents, at the edge of the grove west of the place now occupied by the Catholic parsonage, Parker went back with one of the teams to meet the rest of the party. When the last straggler was picked up and brought in and all were seated in Turkish fashion round the crackling camp-fire, they with one voice declared that spot the most beautiful and attractive they had ever seen. The charming woods, the winding sweep of the crystal river, the range of circling bluffs beyond, the smooth lawnlike slope from forest to stream, the autumnal robings of shrubs and trees and creeping vines, the bewildering beauty of the whole view, all combined to awaken their enthusiasm, stir their blood, and set every nerve to tingling with delight, while Hope was busy with her brush and easel painting bright visions of the future.

Messer, the poet, the artist, the optimist, the dreamer par excellence of the company, which was divided about equally between poets, artists, optimists, and dreamers, on the one side, and plain practical men on the other, seized his fiddle, which was never far from his person, and struck up "The Star Spangled Banner." The Hutchinsons, and all who could sing, "joined in." For the first time since "the morning stars sang together," grand strains of heavenly harmony echoed through the listening groves, and finally died away on the range of circling bluffs beyond the distant river.

ADOPTION OF A CONSTITUTION.

November 20, a business meeting was held in the tent. Col. J. H. Stevens was chosen president; B. E. Messer, secretary; and A. J. Bell, Lewis Harrington, Asa B. Hutchinson, B. E. Messer, and J. H. Stevens, a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws. They then adjourned to meet at Glencoe the next morning. November 21, the company met according to adjournment, and

adopted articles of agreement, which were substantially as follows:

1. There shall be two town sites, each containing 320 acres: Harmony, to be located on the south half of section 31, township 117, range 29; and Hutchinson, on the north half of section 6, township 116, range 29.

2. The two sites shall be divided into 100 shares.

3. The Hutchinsons shall each have ten shares. Each of the eleven men with them shall have five shares. The remaining fifteen shares shall be disposed of by the Hutchinsons as they think best.

4. The river shall continue to be called by its Indian name Hassan (Leaf).

5. L. Harrington, R. H. Pendergast, and Henry Chambers, were appointed to do the business of the company, and dispose of lots to actual settlers.

6. Special meetings shall be held at any time on the written request of three shareholders.

7. Any shareholder neglecting to pay authorized assessments shall forfeit his stock.

8. It was voted to employ L. Harrington to survey the two sites, his compensation being $380.

9. Five acres were set apart for "Humanity's Church."

10. Fifteen acres were set aside for a park (afterward increased to twenty-two acres).

11. Eight lots were reserved for educational purposes.

12. It was solemnly decreed that "in the future of Hutchinson, woman shall enjoy equal rights with man."

13. "No lot shall ever be occupied by any building used as a saloon, bowling alley, or billiard room, on penalty of forfeiture of the lot."

The next morning the company set out on their return to Minneapolis.

During the winter Messrs. Harrington and Bell surveyed the town site, Harrington really doing all the business connected with the survey, though he and Bell took the contract together.

PIONEER REMINISCENCES.

Agreeably to my promise made the fall before, I left Milwau-

kee on the 11th of April, 1856, for Hutchinson. My father and brother (T. H.), a cousin (Solomon Pendergast) now at Sauk Center, T. B. Chesley, and six others, had come out from New Hampshire to go with me. We reached Read's Landing, at the foot of lake Pepin, on the 14th. There we waited two days for the ice to break up, when, tired of "hope deferred," we walked round the lake thirty miles over a muddy road to Wacouta, where we found the Time and Tide, one of Louis Robert's boats, with steam up ready to take us to St. Paul. This steaming up we found was only a trick to make us buy tickets at once. It was played several times before the boat finally started.

We landed at St. Paul on the 17th, and took passage on the Reveille for Carver. On the morning of the 18th we all left on foot for Young America, where we staid that night, sleeping four in a bed wedged in like smelts. The next day hard walking began to tell on the older members of the party; and the three young Pendergasts, Chesley, Atherton, and Glass, soon left the others out of sight. At Glencoe they got a lunch and pushed on, following directions received from some men who thought they knew the way. At nightfall we camped by a lake six miles out and a mile or so east of the present Hutchinson and Glencoe road. We had no blankets, no tent, and no food, except a few pieces of hardtack bought at Carver the day before.

Solomon, however, shot a goose near the shore of the lake, but, as bad luck would have it, she flew out to the middle of the lake before falling. Here was a "pretty kettle of fish." I prepared half a dozen little sticks and tried to get the others to draw, in order to decide which one of us should swim out and get her. It was forty rods to where she lay. The ground was beginning to freeze around the edge of the lake, and little needles of ice were shooting out from the shore over the still water. There was nothing alluring to be seen, except the goose floating on the bosom of the lake at what seemed a long distance away. It was not a tempting bait under the circumstances. No one would draw a stick. Disgusted with what seemed to me their cowardice, I went around to the opposite side of the lake, as the goose looked nearer that shore, and plunged into the ice-cold water. On reaching the goose and looking around to take my bearings, the camp looked as near as the shore I had left; so, taking the goose's neck in my mouth, I paddled towards the fire, which had been kindled

under a big oak and looked very comfortable, but which at the time did me very little good. The water was lighted up more than it was warmed by the blaze. Nearly benumbed, I landed with the trophy, only to find that my thick woolen stockings had been burned in my absence by one of the boys who through kindness had undertaken to dry them before the fire. In three hours the goose was dressed and roasted. A half hour later every bone was picked as clean as a mounted skeleton. This done, we lay down on the bare ground, with some sticks and brush above and the stars twinkling through the impromptu lattice work. There and thus we slept the sleep of "Innocents Abroad."

At noon of the 20th we surprised Roswell and four companions named Gray, Whitney, Failing, and Hook (from whom lake Hook got its name), who were holding possession of the J. E. Chesley hut, which stood a few rods from the southeast corner of the town site. Mr. Chesley, finding provisions running low, had gone to St. Paul to replenish his stock. That evening the rest of our company arrived, and, taking us all together, it must be admitted that as "famine breeders" we were a decided success. The visible supply of food, which consisted of about twenty pounds of flour, totally disappeared in two days. A bushel of potatoes, which had been procured for seed, lasted but little longer. A two-bushel sack of horse feed that stood in one corner of the room was not quite so quickly disposed of. It was ground coarse, the hulls were rough and plowed furrows broad and deep from one end of the oesophagus to the other. We made mush of this, and sweetened it with Hassan river water. After each meal we devoutly thanked the Lord for ground feed, and felt grateful that it "was as well with us as it was."

After a few days Mr. Chesley came back with scant supplies for so many, and then he and I started back to St. Paul immediately on foot, bought four yoke of oxen, a wagon, and a load of goods, including a big breaking plow. After two weeks of hard struggling over stumps, through mire-holes and mud lakes, we crossed the Hassan once more, plowed the first field, and harvested the first crop ever raised in the entire Hassan valley. The grasshoppers, however, which came in countless swarms about the first of July, left little harvesting for us to do.

THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1856.

On July 4th, no other celebration having been planned, a bear hunt was improvised for the occasion, which resulted in killing a huge old bruin, weighing 400 pounds. From the departure of the hunters to the return with the laurels of victory, the watches measured little more than an hour, for the game was in a grove only half a mile away. This was the first Independence Day celebration west of the Big Woods.

COST OF LIVING IN THE WINTER OF 1857-58.

Here is the record for the three months of my second winter in Hutchinson, taken from the expense book of seven who kept "old bachelors' hall" together in the village. It was the most high-toned place there during that winter.

Flour, 5½ barrels....	$66.00
Beef, 257 pounds.....	25.70
Potatoes, 7 bushels...	7.00
Corn meal, 240 lbs....	9.60
Syrup, 8 gallons.....	8.00
Candles, 20 lbs.....	5.00
Beans, 2 bushels.....	4.00
Rice, 12 lbs ..	1.56
Pepper, 6 papers.....	.60
Suet, 6 lbs.....	1.00
Butter, 3 lbs.....	1.05
Buckwheat, 15 lbs..	.90
Salt, 14 lbs.....	.90
Soap, 3 lbs	.45
Cream of tarter, ½ lb.	.35
Saleratus, 9 lbs.....	1.35
Total	$133.46
Cost per man a week...	$1.46

FIRST TOWN MEETING.

At the first town meeting, May 11, 1858, forty-eight votes were cast. Four townships voted at Hutchinson, the north two casting 26 votes, and the south two 22 votes.

STEAMBOAT NAVIGATION.

In the spring and early summer of 1858, a steamboat, twenty by sixty feet in size, was built to run on the Hassan, Crow, and Mississippi rivers to Minneapolis. It made the down trip without much trouble, but never returned. The owners got a chance to sell it to ply on the Mississippi between Minneapolis and St. Cloud. The water of the Hassan river was so high that a steamer could have run from Hutchinson to Minneapolis the first five years without much difficulty.

SCARCITY OF FOOD.

Provisions were very scarce in the spring of 1858. Some families had lived through the winter on potatoes and slippery elm bark. But the middle of May found the Hassan alive with buffalo fishes, and the marshes were yellow with the flowers of cowslips; so for a while there was plenty and variety. Those who were too lazy to pick greens went fishing. The fish could be boiled, baked, stewed, or fried; but, whichever way was chosen, the flavoring was always the same, pure Hassan river water. It took a connoisseur to decide which style of cooking had been adopted. Most of the people got their living in a way that may well be pronounced "scaly."

MAIL CARRIERS.

The contract for carrying the mail between Minneapolis and Hutchinson once a week was let this spring to Messrs. Sumner and Parshall. Previous to this, the young men had taken turns in carrying it on their shoulders. T. H. Pendergast's turn came round almost every week, as he was the most willing and the best walker.

THE SIOUX OUTBREAK.

On Saturday, the 16th day of August, 1862, nine men, including myself, set out for Fort Snelling to enlist. Their names were G. T. Belden, William Gosnell, W. H. Harrington, John Hartwig, J. T. Higgins, Andrew A. Hopper, Charles M. Horton, Charles Stahl, and W. W. Pendergast. The next Monday Capt.

George C. Whitcomb arrived in town from Forest City, with the startling news that the Indians were "on the rampage," that Robinson Jones and Howard Baker and their families had been killed at Acton the day before, and that all the settlers west of us were likely to be massacred. Tuesday morning the captain was in St. Paul, laying the facts before Governor Ramsey and Adjutant General Malmros, both of whom went at once to Fort Snelling. The governor inquired of me about the danger of an Indian outbreak, but I could not confirm the report from Acton, and in fact did not believe it. Soon, however, a courier from the upper Minnesota river came in with the news that Capt. John S. Marsh and more than half his company had been killed while crossing the river. There was no longer room for doubt.

Our Hutchinson boys had not enlisted, so we all determined to go back and defend our own hearthstones. Captain Whitcomb came with us, having succeeded in getting seventy-five Springfield muskets and three boxes of cartridges, amounting to 3,000 rounds of ammunition. We reached Glencoe the second night, having impressed three teams and two men at Shakopee to haul us and the ammunition. It was seventeen miles from Glencoe to Hutchinson. I determined to walk home that night and Mr. Gosnell offered to come with me. The offer was gladly accepted.

Arriving at home at two o'clock in the morning, we found at our house twenty-six refugees who had escaped from the Upper Sioux Agency under the guidance of John Other Day; and we learned that other refugees were at Harrington's, Belden's, Putnam's, and one or two other places, the whole number being about fifty. All of them left that morning, on Friday, August 22nd, for the more eastern settlements.

Captain Whitcomb, with the teams and military supplies, arrived the same day. A company of Home Guards was soon organized, Lewis Harrington being the captain, Oliver Pierce and Andrew Hopper, lieutenants, and W. W. Pendergast, orderly sergeant. A stockade 100 feet square was constructed in twelve days. Then came the battle on the road from Acton to Hutchinson, where Capt. Richard Strout's company was beset by 300 Sioux who had been lying in ambush for them. Captain Strout managed to get away and come to Hutchinson, with twenty-three men wounded, and leaving three dead on the field.

That night these Indians attempted to surprise us; but they

were halted at the bridge by our sentinels. Instantly all was bustle and activity at the garrison. Officers and men were on the alert. In every direction shadowy forms might be seen moving about in the darkness, peering to catch, if possible, a glimpse of the approaching foe. After half an hour's bootless search, no further cause of alarm being discovered, the camp once more relapsed to silence, which was not again disturbed.

THE ATTACK AT HUTCHINSON.

The fourth of September opened bright and beautiful. No sign of Indians was anywhere visible, yet most of the men determined not to leave the fort. A few Germans, however, thinking the enemy had gone off in some other direction, concluded to go out to their farms and try to save some of their wheat, which during these troublesome times had been sadly neglected. Six or seven of them started about seven o'clock for their homes in Acoma, and had just reached the point where the road turns to the right to ascend the bluff near Peter Geoghegan's field. Old Mr. Heller was walking a few rods in advance of the team, when a volley was fired from the brow of the hill and Heller was severely wounded in the hip. The horses were quickly wheeled about, the wounded man was helped into the wagon, and the half mile that lay between them and the fort was made in less time than ever before or since.

When the Germans were leaving for their farms, Howard McEwen volunteered to go to the house of W. W. Pendergast, on the bluff at the edge of the woods, east of Albert Langbecker's residence, to get some delicacies for the wounded soldiers of Strout's company. He had found the articles and started back, but in passing through one of the rooms he noticed a book on the mantel-piece, and stopped to look it through. While thus engaged, he was startled by the firing at Mr. Heller, and, in looking out of the window, saw the hill to the west covered with Indians. Though he knew that his safety depended on reaching the bridge in advance of the Indians, who were following the Germans up as fast as they could, still he did not forget his errand. Gathering up his jellies and preserves, he hastened down the hill and got into the town safely.

Soon the Indians were seen circling around the town in all

directions, except to the south. From the point where they were first seen to Chesley's, at the southeast corner of the town, there was a continuous line of them, while through the woods at the west their dark forms were occasionally seen gliding from one tree or thicket to another.

At the commencement of the attack, about eight o'clock, William H. Ensign mounted "old Selim," and, with hat in hand and hair streaming in the wind, dashed away toward Glencoe for reinforcements.

Levi Chesley and a boy by the name of William Wright (son of E. G. Wright, who married Eliza Chesley) were at the farm taking care of the stock, having left us an hour before for that purpose. Warned of approaching danger by the sound of the guns, they looked out of the barn and saw retreat to the town was already cut off, and that the Indians were close upon them. To bridle the best two horses and jump upon their backs was the work of a moment. In another moment they were scouring across the prairie at breakneck speed, with half a dozen Indians at their heels. Soon all but two who had the swiftest ponies were distanced. These two followed nearly half way to Glencoe, when, finding themselves gradually losing ground, they suddenly faced about and returned to Hutchinson to join their companions.

Seeing the preparations that had been made for their reception in the center of the town, the Indians amused themselves for a while by setting fire to the buildings on the outskirts. The torch was first applied to the house of Dr. Benjamin, as that stood farthest out of town to the northwest. The next one fired was that of W. W. Pendergast. Next was the academy, and while the flames were slowly creeping up the southwest corner of this building its bell was vigorously rung as an alarm. Then followed other houses on the bluff, Kittredge's, Welton's, Pierce's and Chesley's. On the south side Solomon Pendergast's, J. H. Chubb's, and several smaller ones, shared the same fate.

During this time the twenty-three wounded men of Captain Strout's company were carried from the hotel to a place of greater safety, but less comfort, inside the fort.

It was interesting to note the altered behavior of the Indians when they came in sight of the stockade. As soon as the first volley was fired upon the German farmers, they set up a fearful

war cry, and came up over the bluff whooping and yelling as only wild Indians can; but when their eyes caught sight of the fort, the trench around it, and armed men prepared to defend it, they stood for a moment dumbfounded. But relying upon their superior numbers, and remembering how the whites had so far everywhere fled before them, they commenced to put their preconcerted plan into execution.

This was to make a vigorous attack from the north, at which all the inhabitants were expected to retreat toward St. Paul, just as they did at Yellow Medicine. To make their victory more complete, about a third of their number were placed in ambush along the border of the grove that skirts the road to Glencoe all the way from the town to the Hutchinson hill. It was thought that while the victorious Indians were pressing the fugitives from behind and driving them like a flock of frightened sheep, those in ambuscade would pour in a deadly fire upon them, soon make clean work of it, and carry off, with little trouble or danger to themselves, an abundant harvest of scalps.

But the people here, as the Indians soon found, had no notion of retreating, and were determined to give them ball for ball. The Hutchinson Guards, without consulting Captain Strout, took the places previously assigned to them, Captain Harrington and his fifteen men on the west of the fort, Lieutenant Hopper and his men on the east, Pierce at the south, and Pendergast at the north. We were thus advancing upon the Indians in four different directions for the purpose of protecting the buildings and saving the cattle and horses, which were being stolen by dozens before our eyes, when Captain Strout, seeing what was going on and fearing for the safety of the fort, assumed command of the Hutchinson company and the entire fort, and issued a peremptory order that all should return within the stockade, which most of the men obeyed.

A few refused to recognize Strout's authority, notably Captain Harrington, Lieutenants Pierce and Hopper, Orderly Pendergast, Andrew Hopper, H. McEwen, W. Putnam, G. T. Belden, D. Sivright, William Cook, S. Dearborn, D. Cross, Amos James, H. Harrington, and perhaps one or two others; and these fought through the day each on his own hook, as indeed all did after a short time.

Lieutenant Hopper got near enough to an Indian near the

sawmill to make him "bite the dust;" and Cross was equally fortunate east of the fort. He and one lone Indian had a regular duel, firing three shots apiece, until the last shot of Cross killed his antagonist. In each case the other Indians near at hand caught up the body and carried it off the field.

Andrew A. Hopper, H. Harrington, G. T. Belden, and H. McEwen, firing from the chamber of Sumner's Hotel (the Hartman House), repelled the enemy from that direction.

Earlier in the day, S. Dearborn, Andrew Hopper, and W. W. Pendergast, went down nearly to the river, because many of the redskins were on the other bank, dividing their time between stealing horses and firing at the men on the south side. Taking their stations behind some logs that were scattered along the riverside, and behind ginseng frames that Sumner had piled up there, they popped away for half an hour. The effect was not known, as the grass was tall there, and as it was the custom of the Indians to fall whenever a shot was fired in their direction, whether hit or not. At any rate, they retired to a respectful distance, and the three sought other fields of usefulness.

Howard McEwen distinguished himself by going from the fort over to Sumner's barn, when the balls were flying thickest, and bringing back Sivright's double harness. When asked what he did that for, he said that the barn was likely to be burned, that they wanted Sivright's mules to take the women out with after the fight, and that this was the only harness he knew of that could be saved.

About noon when the fort was surrounded by a circle of fire from the smouldering buildings, the Sioux made a desperate effort to advance from the grove on the west to set fire to the buildings that remained between them and the stockade. Sumner then offered a pair of boots to every man who would go to his store, on the west side of Main street, and bring over a back-load of goods. Several of the younger men volunteered, and a dozen loads were safely stored in the fort within as many minutes. No one was hurt, but a bullet hit the pack which C. M. Horton was carrying, and was picked out of one of the boots that composed his load.

There were several "close calls" during the day's fight, but no one in or about the fort actually received any injury. The shooting was mostly at long range. Amos James was wounded

by a spent ball, splintering the stock of the gun which he held in his hand. Bullets perforated the buildings inside the stockade, as well as those that were occupied and defended; but on the part of the garrison it was a bloodless fight.

Some of the Indians who fought here were afterwards taken prisoners by General Sibley, and they acknowledged a loss of four killed and fifteen wounded at Hutchinson on that 4th of September.

RETREAT AND COUNCIL OF THE SIOUX.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the firing began to grow weaker, and it was soon noticed that the enemy were disappearing from the north, east, and south, and were retreating toward the west. Soon afterward a company of about forty soldiers were seen approaching from the direction of Glencoe. These were reinforcements that Ensign had succeeded in obtaining. He went first to Glencoe, but found so few men left there that none could be spared. He heard, however, that a small company of infantry and cavalry was stationed at lake Addie, twelve miles distant to the west. Proceeding at once to that place, he found the soldiers and prevailed on them to march to the relief of Hutchinson, and they were the men who arrived just after the close of the battle.

It is very probable that the Indians observed them long before they were seen from the garrison, and that they withdrew for that reason. They had already sent back a dozen teams, more or less, loaded with household goods and other valuables plundered from the houses which they burned in the morning.

Many persons who had come into the fort left their wagons and harnesses at home, and their horses and cattle on the prairie. The Indians gathered all the oxen and horses they could lay their hands to, and hitched them to the wagons which they found, so that there was no lack of teams to transport their plunder. They shot other horses and cattle that came within range, to the number of about a hundred.

On reaching Otter lake, they stopped and held a council of war. Some were in favor of resting there a few hours, and then, under cover of the night, to come back and take the people by surprise. They argued that our men, thinking they had fled and that our victory was complete, would set no pickets, that the fort

might be fired in a dozen places before the alarm would be sounded, and that amid the darkness and confusion they could make short work of massacring the entire garrison.

But wiser councils prevailed. The older men said that, as they failed to surprise us on the night before, so they would fail again; that the preparations we had made to receive them, the painstaking and skill manifested in the fortifications, and the good judgment shown in their location, where they could not come up from any direction without exposing themselves to almost certain death, all went to prove that the Hutchinson men were wary and cautious, and not to be easily caught napping. They thought the best way for them was to leave with the plunder they had obtained, and to try their luck somewhere else at surprises. So the proposed night attack was given up.

This matter of the consultation at Otter lake was learned from the Indian prisoners at Beaver Falls. In point of fact, there would have been no chance for a successful night attack. A double guard was kept up around the fort all night long; and, with the additional forty men and the extra ammunition they brought with them, the fort could have been held, and would have been held, against a thousand such assailants.

MURDER OF GERMAN SETTLERS WEST OF HUTCHINSON.

Two Germans, by the name of Bilke and Spaude, were at this time living on the farm where old Mr. Sitz now resides, a few miles up the river, in the town of Lynn. They refused to come into the fort, because, they said, they had always treated the Indians well, and the Indians were never forgetful of kindness shown them. They did not anticipate any injuries, and could not be made to see their danger.

But when, on the morning of the fight at Hutchinson, a few Indians came to their house while the families were at breakfast, and in a threatening manner demanded a meal, they began to think they would be safer in the fort. While their guests were causing their bread and meat and potatoes to disappear with marvelous rapidity, they hastened to yoke the oxen and hitch them to the wagon. This done, both families got aboard and started across the river on the way to the town. They had gone but a few rods, however, when the Indians came out of the house

and fired, wounding Spaude in the leg. He whipped up his team and set them to running at the top of their speed, the Indians yelling and pursuing. In this way they dashed down the bank into the river, and there Spaude was shot again, and fell into the middle of the stream, where the body was found the next day.

Bilke and the women and children now leaped from the wagon, and took refuge in the tall grass on the north side of the river, at this place six or seven feet high. While the Indians who were following them stopped to scalp Spaude, the others managed to conceal themselves from view and were not discovered. It has always been a matter of wonder that they succeeded in escaping as they did; but doubtless the Indians thought that they had guns with them, and that if any one should happen to stumble upon their hiding place it would be at the expense of his life. They could see the grass quiver where the Indians went along, but so far they were safe. Mrs. Spaude prevented her two-year-old baby from betraying with its cries their place of concealment by pressing her hand upon its mouth.

As soon as they found the coast in a measure clear, the two families separated. Mrs. Spaude recrossed the river with the baby and a five-year-old child, and, crouching and picking their way along in the tallest grass, they made their toilsome way around the south end of Otter lake, and along the edge of the woods, till they reached the corner of Mr. Hutchinson's field, in sight of the fort, a little after noon, when they were seen and killed by the attacking Indians. When picked up at evening, their faces were entirely shot away, the muzzles of the guns having been held but a few inches away when they were fired.

Mrs. Bilke, with three children, remained longer concealed in the grass, and at last made her way to a vacant log-house near the river on the north side, where they staid over night, and where they were found the next day and brought to the town. Mr. Bilke, clad only in a checked hickory shirt, after meeting innumerable troubles and dangers, finally reached the town just after the Indians left. He had divested himself of one piece of clothing after another, so as to run faster; had been all day surrounded by his enemies; had dodged this way and that, to avoid them; and unscathed had now got where he could take a long breath and feel safe.

SERVICE OF THE HUTCHINSON GUARDS.

On the 22d of September the Hutchinson Guards, having been already recognized by the State as a regular military organization, were sworn into the service, their time commencing August 23, 1862. They were on duty seventy days, to the first of November.

Lieut. Oliver Pierce, Frank G. Jewett, and David Cross, left Hutchinson on September 23d, to look up a man named Sanborn who had not been seen for several days. They first visited Mr. Webb's house, eight miles distant to the northwest, which they found to have been ransacked. The next stop was at Dr. Kennedy's, where all was topsy-turvy. Surgical instruments, bottles of medicine, pills, plasters, and potions, lay scattered in inextricable confusion. Tincture bottles were found empty. Jars of specimens preserved in alcohol had been drained to the last drop, and all the doctor's collections of rare and interesting entomological, vermiculous, and batrachoid curiosities were in the last stages of decay. The Indians have a deep and abiding faith in fire-water, and look upon the wasting of the smallest quantity as a calamity. They doubtless got some doses this time that were long remembered.

From Kennedy's the men were walking along, slowly and carefully examining the ground, when suddenly three guns were fired, almost at the same instant, and Cross fell to the ground, pierced by a bullet through the heart. He died immediately. The others thought to bring the body back with them, but the Indians were upon them and they had to fight their way to the team, which they made good use of. It did not take their foes more than a minute or two to mount and give chase, and never had that region witnessed such a race. The driver, Pierce, urged the horses to the top of their speed; and thirteen Sioux, on their ponies, were crowding them closely, with Cross's scalp hoisted on a pole for a battle flag. Jewett sat in the rear of the wagon, with his legs dangling down, loading and firing as fast as the swaying and jolting permitted; and the leaders of the chase gave back shot for shot. Three or four at last gave up and turned back. One got to the front, and a well-directed shot unhorsed him. This ended the pursuit. The next day another party went out and brought in the bodies of both Cross and Sanborn, the

latter having been brained with a grub-hoe and left where he fell.

No other stirring event occurred till the following July, when Little Crow was killed about six miles north of Hutchinson.

THE KILLING OF LITTLE CROW.

On the morning of July 3, 1863, Nathan Lamson and his son Chauncey left Hutchinson for their home in the north part of the town, about five miles away, to look after their stock. All being found as they left it a few weeks before, they started out near evening to hunt for a deer. While they were stealing carefully along a dim path or trail, leading northwestward, the old man's quick eye caught sight of something moving in the bushes a few rods beyond them. Peering through the thicket, he saw two Indians, a middle-aged man (afterward ascertained to be Little Crow) and a boy (his son Wowinapa) of about sixteen years, picking raspberries which were abundant and ripe.

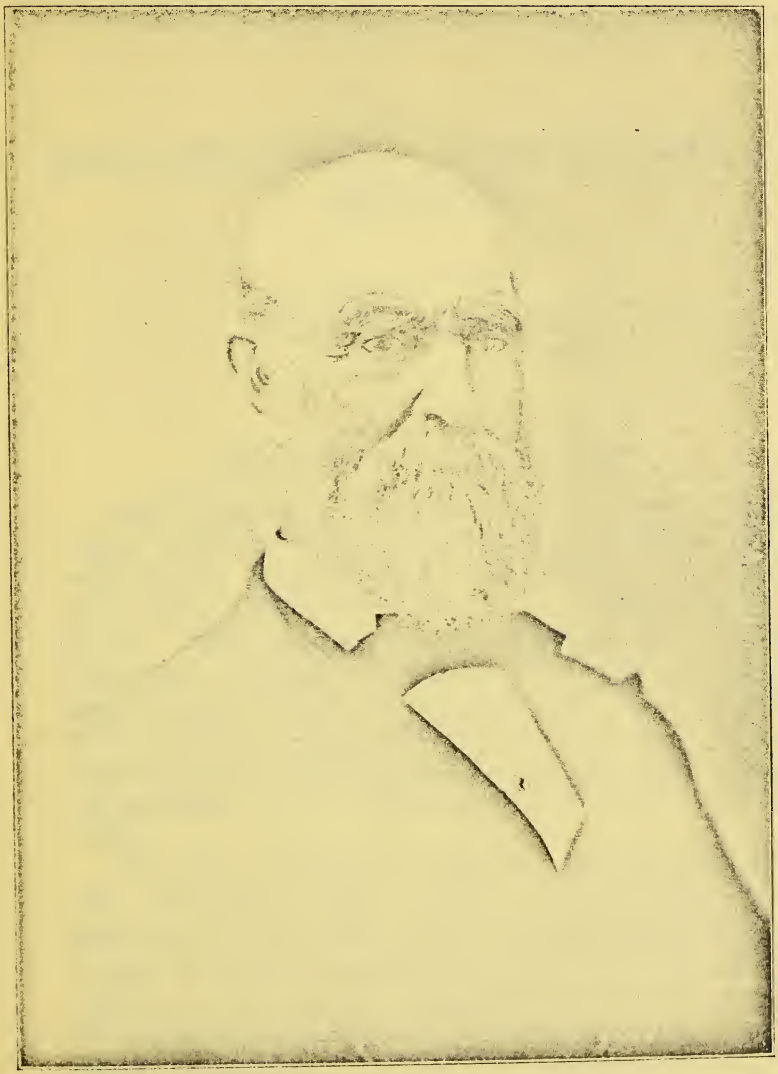
Mr. Lamson thought this too good a chance to lose. Creeping to a poplar tree which stood near, he rested his gun against the trunk and fired, wounding Little Crow in the side. He did not fall, but, looking around, saw his assailant, and in an instant sent a bullet through the fleshy part of Mr. Lamson's left shoulder. Chauncey then advanced toward Little Crow, following the rather blind trail around the raspberry patch toward the northwest, while his father dropped to the ground to reload. Little Crow, evidently thinking him killed, seized his son's rifle and moved along the bush-skirted path toward Chauncey. They saw each other and fired at the same moment. Only one report was heard by either Chauncey or his father. Little Crow fell mortally wounded by a bullet through his breast, and Chauncey felt the wind upon his cheek as the other ball passed harmlessly by.

Supposing his father to have been killed, and fearing lest other Indians might be near, Chauncey hurried to give the alarm in Hutchinson, and reached there about ten o'clock that evening. His mother, nearly distracted, begged the men at the fort to go in search of her husband. William Gosnell was the first to vounteer. Birney Lamson, the old man's youngest son, a Frenchman by the name of Le Maitre, and two or three other citizens followed, They, with six mounted men of the Goodhue County Tigers, who were stationed at Hutchinson, set out immediately, and reached

Lamson's house a little past midnight, where they rested about three hours. At the beginning of dawn, they resumed their march. They went north one mile to the woods path before mentioned, and turning to the west followed it about half a mile, when they came to the body of Little Crow stretched out at length on the ground about six rods from the spot where young Lamson delivered the fatal shot.

Nathan Lamson's white shirt and his gun were found in a plum grove near by, but the owner was not to be seen. On the return of the party to Hutchinson, however, he was among the first to welcome them. He had thrown away his shirt, thinking that its color might attract the notice of the foe, and his gun was left because he was not able, in reloading, to get the ball down more than nine inches from the muzzle, so that he feared it would burst if he attempted to fire it. In his trepidation he had filled the barrel nearly full in loading it direct from the powder flask. He had lain concealed in the thicket until nightfall, and then, leaving his shirt and gun, had made his way to Hutchinson, arriving about two o'clock in the morning.

Wowinapa, escaping and returning to rejoin the Sioux in Dakota, was captured twenty-six days later by a party of our soldiers near Devil's lake. His statement, as published by Heard and by Bryant and Murch in their books on the Sioux outbreak and war, proved that the Indian thus shot near Hutchinson was Little Crow, who had been the chief orator and plotter for the massacre of the frontier settlers less than a year before.



Edwin Bell

EARLY STEAMBOATING ON THE MINNESOTA AND RED RIVERS.*

BY CAPTAIN EDWIN BELL.

ST. PAUL AND ITS VICINITY IN 1850.

On the 16th day of December, 1850, I called on Governor Ramsey at his new house on Walnut street, to which he had recently moved. The governor was surrounded by a large delegation of Sioux Indians, each of whom had a long-stem pipe across his lap. Those were the first wild Indians I had ever seen. Their faces were painted in streaks of red and black, and many of them had eagle feathers on their heads. They were orderly, so far as I could see, and I little thought that within a few years I should carry their yearly supplies to Redwood Agency, and guns and ammunition up the Minnesota river to destroy these same Indians.

St. Paul at that time was little more than an Indian trading post. The Indians in winter camped in the heavy timber on the west side of the river from Kaposia to a point opposite St. Paul. As soon as the ice formed so as to bear them, great numbers would cross over to trade. Trading was done with A. L. Larpenteur, on the corner of Third and Jackson streets; with Mr. Simpson, on Minnesota and Third streets; and the Fuller Brothers, at the Upper Levee. All these traders dealt heavily in furs.

In the year 1850, I preëmpted what is now called Langdon, situated near the river, fifteen miles below St. Paul. After I fin-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 13, 1901.

ished my house on the prairie and moved in, the Sioux used to pass frequently on their way to Point Douglas. During the two years we were on the prairie, we were not troubled by them, neither did we hear of any family that was troubled. I found that farming was not my forte, so I returned to St. Paul.

STEAMBOATING ON THE MINNESOTA RIVER.

In 1855 I had command of the steamer Globe, making trips on the Minnesota river, and in the early fall of that year we carried supplies to the Sioux at Redwood Agency. The Indians would come down the river several miles to meet the boat. They were like a lot of children, and when the steamboat approached they would shout, "Nitonka pata-wata washta," meaning, "Your big fire-canoe is good." They would then cut across the bend, yelling until we reached the landing.

In the fall of that year, 1855, their supplies were late, when I received orders from Agent Murphy to turn over to the Indians twelve barrels of pork, and twelve barrels of flour. As soon as we landed, we rolled the supplies on shore. I was informed that the Indians were in a starving condition. It was amusing to see five or six of them rolling a barrel of pork up the bank, when two of our deck hands would do the work in half the time.

A young Indian girl stood at the end of the gang plank, wringing her hands and looking toward the boat, exclaiming "Sunka wanicha," meaning "They have my dog." The cabin boy told me the cook had coaxed the dog on board and hid it. I could speak the language so as to be understood, and I motioned to the girl and said, "Niye kuwa," meaning "Come here." She came on board, and I told the cook to bring the dog to me. When the dog came, she caught it in her arms, exclaiming, "Sunka washta," meaning "Good dog." She then ran on shore and up the hill. It seemed to me that white people took advantage of the Indian when they could, even steamboat cooks.

When the flour and pork were on level ground, the barrel heads were knocked in, and the pork was cut in small strips and thrown in a pile. Two hundred squaws then formed a circle, and several Indians handed the pieces of pork to the squaws until the pile was disposed of. The flour was placed in tin pans, each squaw receiving a panful.

Later, in the same season, we had an unfortunate trip. The boat was loaded deep. Luckily Agent Murphy and Capt. Louis Robert were on board. We had in the cabin of the boat ninety thousand dollars in gold. About three miles below the Agency, we ran on a large boulder. After much effort, we got the boat afloat. Major Murphy gave orders to land the goods, so that they might be hauled to the Agency. We landed and unloaded, covering the goods with tarpaulins. There were about fifty kegs of powder with the goods. While we were unloading, the agent sent for a team to take Captain Robert and himself, with the gold, to the Agency. Then we started down the river. We had gone only a few miles, when we discovered a dense smoke, caused by a prairie fire. The smoke was rolling toward the pile of goods, which we had left in charge of two men. When we reached the ferry at Red Bank, a man on horseback motioned us to land, and told us that the goods we left were all burnt up and the powder exploded. This was a sad blow to the Indians.

The following is a list of the steamboats running on the Minnesota river, during high water, in the year 1855 and later: Clarion, Captain Humberson; Globe, Captain Edwin Bell; Time and Tide, Captain Nelson Robert; Jeannette Roberts, Captain Charles Timmens; Mollie Moler, Captain Houghton; Minnesota, Captain Hays; and the Frank Steele and Favorite, both side-wheel steamers. These boats were drawn off when the water got low; and when the railroad paralleled the river, all boats quit running.

On the 16th day of December, 1895, I called on Governor Ramsey again, to talk over old times, forty-five years after my first call. What changes have taken place since then! When I started to leave, I thought I would see how much the governor remembered of the Sioux language. I said, "Governor, nitonka tepee, washta." "What did you say, captain?" asked the governor. I replied, "Nitonka tepee, washta." "Why, captain," said he, "that means, My house is large and good;" and, with a wink, "Captain, let's have a nip." Of course we nipped, and said "Ho!" All old settlers will know the meaning of the Sioux exclamation, "Ho!"

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE RED RIVER OF THE NORTH.

In the summer of 1859 I arranged with Mr. J. C. Burbank

to go to the Red River of the North to take charge of the steamboat Anson Northup, load the freight on the boat, and take it to Fort Garry. This was the first steamboat ever run on the Red river.

I was to take a few men with me for deck hands, and Dudley Kelly, a brother of Patrick H. Kelly, as clerk. I would find a pilot and engineer at the boat. We left the next morning on the stage. On arriving at the Red river, we were informed that the boat had started for the townsite of Georgetown, in charge of the stage agent. If we drove fast, they said, we would overtake the boat, as the river was very crooked. We got ahead of her, and when we heard her coming around the bend, we hailed them. They landed, and I went on board and showed my papers to the man in charge of the boat, who introduced me to the pilot, Jesse Young, and also to Lem Young, the engineer. Then leaving us, he got on the stage, going to Abercrombie.

We started for Georgetown. We found three deck hands on the boat. Two were old pinery men. They were of great service afterward at Goose rapids. There were also two families on board, the first pioneer families coming through the United States to Fort Garry. All others came by the way of Hudson bay. Two men were also passengers, one a minister. We soon landed at Georgetown, and loaded the freight on the boat.

Two more passengers got on board there for Fort Garry. I inquired about the river below. They said the water was deep down to the fort. As voyageurs, in their birch canoes, they had passed up and down without trouble, but we found a steamboat a little different from a canoe. I called a meeting to find out the amount of provisions there was on board, as in our stage trip to the Red river we had passed the wagon with provisions for the boat. They had a broken wheel, and a man had gone back to St. Cloud for a new one. This would take several days. The passengers and crew were all anxious to start down the river, and. as there were provisions to last through the trip, all went well until we reached Goose rapids.

There we saw the break of boulders in the channel of the river, and we also saw shoal water on a gravel bar below. The pilot and I took the small skiff to examine. We found that the boulders would have to be removed before we could get through. We made scrapers to dig below the boulders. When we had dug

a hole large enough to hold a boulder, we brought the bow of the boat against it and then came ahead, shoving the boulder into the opening we had made.

This we continued to do until the boulders were all out of the way, and then we started over the bar. Getting half way over, the boat stuck fast. We commenced to carry the freight on shore, to lighten; and fortunately the freight was in square packages with lugs. The men would turn their backs to the guard of the boat, receive a package, and wade to shore, to the pile. This was of no benefit, as the water fell fast. I sent two men back to Georgetown, to have Mr. Joseph McKay come and get the freight.

When we had the boat unloaded we tried to move her by backing to throw the water under her, and then reversed to come ahead quick for starting. It was of no use. Some of our party wanted me to abandon the steamboat and strike for Pembina, a hundred miles or more down the river. I said "No," and at once decided to build a dam, this being the first dam ever put in on the Red river.

I will describe the way it was built. First we cut two cottonwood logs, ten feet long, and chopped out the middle to form a trough, leaving the ends and sides of each. We then spliced them together, calked them, and built a platform on this scow for men to stand on to drive stakes. The stakes were cut about seven feet long and sharpened. We commenced to drive from the east shore, and drove a straight line of stakes to the boat. We had a man at each end of the scow, to hold it up to the stakes, and to move it as the stakes were driven. There was a very strong current over the bar. We knew that if the dam was not a success there would be starvation, for our provisions were nearly exhausted and we were a long way from civilization.

Now came the tug of war. Our crew cut cottonwood logs, twelve feet long, and rolled them to the river. This was hard work. All brush had to be cut in front of the logs to clear the way. When in the water two or three men would follow them to place them in line above the stakes. This was done until we had enough to reach to the boat.

We had as a passenger a hearty Scotch minister. He sent for me to come on board for prayers. I went. After prayers he

spoke as though I ought to have brought the men with me. I said to him, "God will help them that help themselves."

The dam required a large amount of brush. This was carried to the lower side of the logs, to be put on them with the brush ends up stream and the butts on the logs. While we were so placing the brush, I looked on the shore where the freight was piled, and saw a man. He hailed us and came on board. It was Capt. Russell Blakeley. I explained to him the condition we were in. He pulled from his pocket a lot of fish lines and hooks, and handed them to me. They proved a great blessing to us. I knew then that they would save us from starving. All who could be spared from the work began fishing, and they had great success. We continued to pile the brush on the logs, and when we got about half way from the shore to the boat I could see the water begin to rise above the dam. When we got to within fifteen feet of the boat with the brush, she rose and shot over the bar into deep water.

We hauled the small scow aboard, which was built for driving the stakes, fearing that we might need it farther down the stream. Then we raised steam and started for Fort Garry, Captain Blakeley going with us from Goose rapids. When we reached the mouth of the Red Lake river, we saw a great many birch canoes on the west bank of the Red river. We heard later at Fort Garry that the Indians intended to intercept the boat; but they had got out of provisions, and had left their canoes to go on a hunt.

Just below the Red Lake river we caught up with two men in a canoe. They had a large number of geese and goslings in their canoe that they had shot. We lifted their canoe on board, and I offered to buy their game. They refused to sell, but made us a present of all they had, knowing the need we were in. We then lived high on fish and goslings for breakfast, goose for dinner, and goslings for supper.

The boat being light, we reached Fort Garry without further trouble. We unloaded the passengers and freight, and then had to find a place to lay the boat up in safety for the winter. We were recommended to take her to the Stone Fort, about fifteen miles below Fort Garry.

In the morning we got ready to start for the Stone Fort,

when a few men came and said they wanted to go down to the fort with us. After landing at the fort, a few more men came and said they wanted to take a short ride as they never had seen a steamboat before. We started, and about five miles below the Stone Fort, we saw a band of Indians looking with wonder at the boat. When we got opposite the Indians, I motioned to the pilot to blow the whistle. He did so, and such a scattering you never saw. Some ran, and some jumped into the bulrushes close by to hide. One of the gentlemen called to them, and they came to the boat laughing and having great fun among themselves. Then we returned and laid the boat up. The engineer drained the pumps and blew the water out of the boilers, leaving the boat in good order for the winter.

SCENES AT FORT GARRY IN 1859.

All the crew walked to Fort Garry, and we made our camp at the mouth of the Assiniboine, to wait for the ox train to go to Georgetown.

I visited the fort several times. They were very precise in all their movements within. The bell rang at nine o'clock, and the gate was opened for trade. All goods came by way of Hudson bay. I was invited to dine with Governor McTavish, and had a pleasant time, talking about our trip down the river. He asked me, with a twinkle in his eye, if the minister prayed us over the bar.

I was invited to attend an Indian feast in the morning. It was a religious ceremony, and in the afternoon a feast. It was held in an enclosure made of brush. No one was allowed inside except their band, but we could see over the fence all that transpired. The Indians sat on the ground inside the enclosure, and there were in the center, at certain distances apart, five large dead dogs with their hair singed off. At the head of the enclosure a young squaw sat on a bed of moss. She wore a new red blanket, and her hair was braided and hung down her back. An Indian would spring up and go with a kind of hop, holding a beaver skin in his hand and shaking it before her, saying something as though asking a blessing. She would nod, and he would pass around the squaw. The next Indian brought an otter skin, the next a musk-

rat, and so on until they had brought all the animals, going through the same ceremony as with the beaver. The next were geese, ducks, and other birds, and so on down to hay from the marsh. The company then broke up until the afternoon.

Going back about one o'clock, I found the squaws making soup from the dogs that were in the enclosure. The Indians went and took their seats as before, the young squaw in her place. The squaws brought the soup to the entrance, and then the Indians took the kettles of soup with a ladle in each kettle, and it was passed around, each Indian taking a sup, until the soup was all gone. I left before the company broke up.

Winnipeg now is not as Fort Garry was then. There were only three houses there. I went across the river several times to visit Mr. Norman W. Kittson in his Indian trading post, and always had a pleasant call.

THE RETURN BY OX TRAIN TO ST. PAUL.

When the train was ready to start for Georgetown, each of us had an ox cart to travel in. We then started on our long journey. We made a short stop at Pembina. The second day out from there we saw some buffaloes running over the hills. The hunter for the train started for them, and in a few hours returned with all the meat and hide he could carry on his horse. The hide was for harness. We passed deep paths made by the buffaloes going in single file from lake to lake.

We made camp early that evening, having found good feed and water for the cattle. Standing by a large oak tree, in full view was an immense buffalo. A man from St. Paul who was in the train gave the hunter two dollars to let him take a horse and gun to kill the buffalo. When the man got within thirty yards of him, the buffalo started toward the man. He shot, but did not take time to look around to see if he had killed the buffalo. It was amusement for us to see the buffalo chasing the man on horseback. The way our expert hunter killed the buffalo was interesting. He circled around him, and then shot. He dropped dead.

We were called next morning early. The oxen were all near the carts excepting mine. I could see him a long way behind feeding, and Mr. Dudley Kelly and I started for him. By the

time we arrived where we thought the ox was, there came a dense fog, so that we could not see thirty feet ahead of us. I exclaimed, "Dudley, we are lost!" "I haven't a knife or match with me," he said. "Well," said I, pointing to the large frogs in the grass, "as long as these fellows are jumping around, we will not starve." I knew the way the wind blew when we left camp, and I was sure by keeping the wind on my left shoulder I could return to it.

After about half an hour's walking, I said, "There is the tree near the camp where the buffalo was that we killed last night." As we approached the tree, we could see, through the mist, that the limbs were moving. Directly we heard a voice. The tree was Captain Blakeley, and the limbs moving were his arms waving for us. He was on the road waiting for us, and it was a great relief to find him. He informed us that the train had moved on. We did not overtake it until they went into camp.

This must have been the great hunting ground for the Indian, as there were thousands and thousands of bleached buffalo bones lying on the prairie.

We reached Georgetown all right, and thence we left the river and went across the country to St. Cloud. When we arrived at the Crow river, the water was so high that we had to ford it, carrying our clothes on our heads, and it was indeed a cold bath, as there was ice on the edge of the river. We arrived at home in St. Paul safely after a hard trip.

INCIDENTS OF THE SIOUX OUTBREAK.

In August, 1862, we were making the steamboat trip from St. Paul to Carver and back again daily. On one of our return trips from Carver in the latter part of that month, as we arrived opposite Fort Snelling we were hailed by two soldiers, with guns, and ordered to land. As soon as our head line was made fast, one of the soldiers came on board and asked me whether I was captain of the boat. I said, "Yes." "I have orders," said he, "to bring you to the fort." "Why?" I asked; and he replied, "I have no time to talk." Then we started on half a run up the bluff to the fort. When we arrived inside the gate we met Captain Arnold, who said, "Captain, they are waiting very anxiously for you in the next building." I knocked at the door, and it was opened by Governor Ramsey. Then I learned that the Indians

had broken out and were murdering the settlers right and left. General Sibley was also present. The governor said, "We want you to make a quick trip to St. Paul, get arms and ammunition, and return to the fort." They gave me a detail of twenty men to assist.

As soon as we landed in St. Paul, I went to the arsenal, and started the guns and boxes to the boat. My brother, H. Y. Bell, found Mr. Rider, and they went to the magazine, and got all the ammunition there, that being all there was in the city. We then started to the fort. I had arranged with General Sibley that when we arrived at Mendota island, I was to blow the whistle, to give him time to meet the boat on the landing. As soon as the general came, we started for the fort, received the troops on board, and went to Shakopee. On our arrival there, we landed all the soldiers except one company, and then went on up the river.

When we rounded the point below Carver, a sight I shall never forget was seen. Men, women, and children, were on the bank of the river, many in their night clothes just as they left their beds to flee from the Indians. There was much rejoicing when they saw the boat had come to their relief. We went about three miles above Carver, there left the remaining soldiers, and then returned to Shakopee.

The next spring we carried the supplies to Camp Pope, at the mouth of the Yellow Medicine river, for General Sibley's troops. This was a dangerous trip, for Indians were seen along the bank of the river. We had a small guard of soldiers on board, and as we had not run at night we took the precaution to anchor the boat in the middle of the river.

THE TREATY OF TRAVERSE DES SIOUX IN 1851, UNDER GOVERNOR ALEXANDER RAMSEY, WITH NOTES OF THE FORMER TREATY THERE, IN 1841, UNDER GOVERNOR JAMES D. DOTY, OF WISCONSIN.*

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

THE TREATY OF GOVERNOR DOTY, 1841.

One of the most important events in the annals of our great Northwest was the opening to settlement of the Sioux lands west of the Mississippi river, which was effected by the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota in 1851.

Ten years prior, Gov. James Duane Doty of Wisconsin, under commission from the government, had concluded a treaty with the same Indians for the cession of this same territory. This Doty treaty was signed by the Sisseton, Wahpeton and Wahpekuta bands at Traverse des Sioux, then in the Territory of Iowa, on July 31st, 1841, and by the Medawakantons at Mendota on the 11th day of August following. By its terms, these tribes sold all their lands to the United States, except small designated portions thereof reserved for their homes. They were to receive therefor stated annuities and to be taught the arts of civilization, since their nomadic habits were to be exchanged for those of an agricultural character; lands were to be allotted to them in severalty, a hundred acres to each family; and citizenship could be

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, September 9, 1901.

conferred upon them after two years of probation. They were to have a constitutional form of government, with a legislative body elected by themselves and a governor appointed by the general government. The traders and half-breeds among them were also to receive certain privileges and to have their claims paid.

The object of this treaty was not to open the country for settlement, but primarily to provide a location for the Winnebago Indians, who, since the cession of their lands in 1837, had been on the government's hands under promise of a permanent home; and, secondarily, to furnish reservations for a number of other tribes similarly situated. In short, it was designed to create of the Sioux country a second Indian Territory, into which to dump all the odds and ends of Indian tribes still left east of the Mississippi. Fortunately, however, this treaty failed of confirmation by the Senate, and thus this vast and fertile territory was saved to a grander destiny.

MOTIVES LEADING TO THE TREATY OF 1851.

Prior to 1850, very little was known by the people generally about the Sioux country. No one but a few traders and an occasional explorer or missionary had ever seen its interior. In those ante-railroad days, the key to the whole region was the Minnesota river, which was supposed to be unnavigable, except to the bark canoe of the Indian and the Mackinaw boat of the trader.

The year 1850 was noted for a number of steamboat excursions up this river, which gave to the hundreds of people participating, and through them to the whole country, a practical demonstration both of its navigability and of the wonderful beauty and fertility of the country it drained. The press of the country east and west was full of glowing accounts of this western paradise. Everybody was talking about it, and thousands of home-seekers all over the land were eager to go up and possess it; but to the people of the newly created territory of Minnesota, circumscribed within the narrow and not over fertile land between the Mississippi and the St. Croix, the rich country beyond the river was indispensable.

The Indians, alive to their own interest, and perhaps incited thereto by the greater foresight of the traders, with the aid also of the military, guarded their lands with the utmost vigilance, and

almost daily chased some daring squatter back over the Father of Waters.

The situation at St. Paul and St. Anthony was growing daily more acute as the streams of immigration came pouring into them and there found their progress arrested. The voice of the people, thundered through Governor Ramsey and Congressman H. H. Sibley and others, at last awoke the Washington authorities to action, and in the spring of 1851 a commission, consisting of Gov. Alexander Ramsey and Col. Luke Lea, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was appointed to treat with the Sioux for their lands. Both commissioners were men eminently fitted for the trust reposed in them, because of the confidence which their ability, experience and honesty elicited in both white and red men.

PRELIMINARIES OF THE TREATY.

Traverse des Sioux, on the Minnesota, because of its central location, was chosen as the principal place for the treaty, and the steamer Excelsior was chartered to transport the commissioners with their attendants and supplies to this designated spot. Dr. Thomas Foster of St. Paul was appointed secretary of the commission, and Alexis Bailly, of Prairie du Chien, had charge of the commissary department.

On Saturday, June 28th, 1851, the Excelsior, with Commissioner Lea on board, arrived at St. Paul, and next morning proceeded to Mendota, where the party was joined by a number of traders and Sioux chiefs of the Lower bands. Here also a drove of cattle, and other things necessary for the subsistence of the commission and the many Indians expected at the treaty, were taken on board.

At Fort Snelling, Governor Ramsey joined the party; but a company of dragoons, who were to accompany the commission as a guard, were not ready. The boat departed without them, nor, owing to the good behavior of the Indians, were their services once needed.

The river, in consequence of recent heavy rains, was exceptionally high, overflowing all the lowlands, so that its true channel in many places was hard to follow. At sunrise of Monday (June 30th) the boat reached its destination, and, quickly unloading passengers and cargo, departed down stream.

Traverse des Sioux, being the French translation of its Dakota name "Oiyuwega" (crossing), was then, and from time immemorial had been, the most important point on the Minnesota. The excellent river crossing there found, together with its position where the great forest of the east and the vast plains of the west naturally met, where the Blue Earth and its tributaries were conveniently accessible, and where the headwaters of the Minnesota and Red rivers could be reached by a short cut over land, made Traverse des Sioux the natural capital of the Sioux country.

The place had been occupied by traders from a very early period, as early, at least, as the last half of the eighteenth century, when the father of Jack Frazer and others had trading posts there. Louis Provencalle had maintained a trading post there from about 1815 until his death in February, 1851, and his sons continued in the business until a year or two later. Other trading places had been also kept there, and in the near vicinity, off and on, by Philander Prescott since 1823, by Alexander Faribault since 1825, and by Alexander Graham since 1849. Nearly all of these traders were in some way connected with the American Fur Company.

At this same point was a mission station of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, founded for the Dakotas by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs in 1843, but which most of the time had been in charge of Messrs. Robert Hopkins and Alexander G. Huggins and their wives, Hopkins having settled there in the spring of 1844, and Huggins, on the departure of Mr. Riggs, in the fall of 1846.

The neatly painted school building of this mission, the residences of the two missionaries, and of the trader Alexander Graham, four old log store buildings, with dilapidated log stables in their rear, the trading establishments of Provencalle, Faribault, and others, scattered along the hillside, two or three cabins of the French voyageurs, and some twenty to thirty Indian lodges, comprised all there was of Traverse des Sioux when the commissioners landed there.

The spot selected for the commissioners' camp was at the brow of the second bench above the river, by a little old French cemetery, about twenty rods south of Provencalle's store, on land

that was platted as Blocks 33 and 34, Traverse des Sioux. Few, even now, know the precise spot, and the site of so important a historical event should be marked by an appropriate monument ere it is lost forever.

Here, around the cemetery just mentioned (no trace of which remains today), the commission pitched seven white tents; and just north of a small natural ditch a council chamber was erected of poles covered with leafy branches of trees, with a platform of rough boards at its farther end for the commissioners' stand, and with board seats ranged along the sides for the audience. Two old log buildings of the Fur Company, which Governor Doty had occupied when making his treaty, and which stood a few rods south of the cemetery, were appropriated for a kitchen and store-room.

In a treaty with the whites, the part played by the Indians is always more in appearance than in fact. The Sioux at that time comprising many wandering bands of savages, wholly independent of each other, and with scarcely a semblance of government, even in their respective bands, had hardly more capacity for public business than so many children. Thoughtless and indifferent of the future and of everything pertaining to their national welfare, they were only moved singly by the impulse of the moment. A gaudy toy or a savory mess of food satisfied their wants. A few of their wisest chiefs might rise to nobler thoughts and purposes, but little heed was paid to them, unless they followed the wishes of their braves.

To get sufficient interest in such a people to come to a treaty at all was no small undertaking, and, when they had come, to make them comprehend its effect, was a still greater task. There had been, however, for nearly a century, growing up among the Indians a class of people called "traders," mostly of French or Scotch descent, many of whom, as well as of their numerous employees, had intermarried with the Indians. These and their descendants, at the time of the treaty, because of their superior intelligence and social position, formed the most influential class among the Sioux. As a rule, the traders were men of character and capacity, who merited the Indian confidence, though there were exceptions. To ensure the success of the treaty, it was absolutely necessary to enlist all these men in its favor, for it was

only through them that the Indians could be reached.

There were certain reasons, which inclined both trader and Indian to favor a treaty. The first and most important was the disappearance of game due to (a) the introduction of firearms and other superior weapons of civilization among the natives, (b) the advent of white hunters with their greater skill and aggressiveness in hunting, and (c) the creation of the Fur Company, giving an incentive to the quest for furs wholly unknown in the days of undisturbed savagery.

Hence the buffaloes, which on the first advent of the whites roamed in countless thousands over the entire Northwest, and which, as late as the latter half of the eighteenth century, were common in all the valleys and upon all the prairies of Minnesota, by 1851 had been driven to its western border exclusively. The beaver, which formerly swarmed along every stream and in every pond throughout the land, also had become almost extinct, while the deer, the bear, and game of all sorts, were fast disappearing before the advancing tide of civilization. The results were a diminished food and clothing supply for the Indian and a decrease of business for the trader. This was slightly modified by the cultivation of more corn by the Indian and constant extension of trade to new territory by the trader. Still the poverty and misery of the Indian were continually growing, and the extinction of the trader's occupation was but a question of time. It may have been this condition, as well as the taste they had got of government annuities, which induced the eastern bands to favor a treaty more than the western bands.

As a second reason, it was evident to both trader and Indian that the encroachments of the white race were irresistible, and that a disposition of their lands by a favorable treaty would be much better than a forcible eviction. But the traders had been long in the country, and had acquired business interests there which the treaty would destroy, so that one would suppose that they, as well as the Indians, should be compensated directly for the injury done them. This was deemed impracticable, however, and, as their hearty support and co-operation were absolutely essential, an indirect method of enlisting their favor was devised.

The Sioux, because of their necessities, had been in the habit of obtaining credit each year from the traders on the strength of the coming season's hunt, which obligations they hardly ever were able to fulfill, until there had accumulateed against them on every

trader's books a very large sum, equivalent in some cases to a fair-sized fortune. It was proposed, therefore, to pay these debts to the traders out of the first cash annuities the Indians should receive, which arrangement was satisfactory to the traders, and their efficient help was thus secured.

The commissioners had expected to find the Indians assembled ready for council, but the season was exceptionally wet and all the streams and sloughs were flooded, rendering travel in a wild country very difficult, and this, together with the Indian's natural indifference, had deterred all the distant bands from coming. It was nearly three weeks before the traders and their couriers could bring all these remote and scattered people together. The time was well employed, however, by the commissioners in acquainting themselves with Indian character and needs, and by the traders in creating a pro-treaty sentiment among the gathering hordes.

The Indians busied themselves each day with some national pastime or superstitious rite, much to the entertainment of the whites. A big ball game between the young men of rival bands, or by two companies of young squaws, would be the attraction one day; a grand wedding, a virgin feast, dramatic representations of hunting scenes and savage warfare, and, because of the terrific thunder-storms then prevalent, a big dance held to appease the storm god by breaking the wing of the Thunder-bird,—each, in its turn, varied the daily program of genuine savage life here presented.

GOODHUE, THE JOURNALIST, AND MAYER, THE ARTIST.

With the commission had come Mr. James M. Goodhue, the first editor in Minnesota, a writer of much ability, whose daily articles of correspondence to his paper, the "Pioneer," not only contain a detailed account of the making of the great treaty, but are vivid, also, with graphic descriptions of the Indian life about him.

With the commission had also come Mr. Frank Blackwell Mayer, an artist of considerable merit, from the state of Maryland, who busied himself each day in sketching Indian countenances and costumes. His painting of the signing of the treaty, after a sketch made on the spot, is one of the most valued treasures of this Historical Society, affording a fine study for a great

historical painting of an event the most momentous, as it was the most picturesque, in the history of our great Northwest.

Thus, fortunately, pen and pencil have preserved for us that memorable event, when Savagery, surrounded by thousands of her sons, surrendered in peaceful council her choicest domain to Civilization.

THE TREATY COUNCIL.

On Friday morning, July 18th, most of the Indians having arrived, the council met for its first session. After the commissioners had informed the Indians at length of the wishes of the government, a recess was taken until next day to give the Dakotas opportunity to discuss them.

On Saturday, the pre-arranged signal of the firing of guns having been given, the council re-assembled, but the Indians were not disposed to talk.

Finally Wee-chan-hpee-ee-tay-toan (Having the face of a star), called the "Orphan" by the whites, head-chief of the Sissetons from lake Traverse, rose and complained that some of his young men, on the way to the treaty, had been turned back by the whites. Governor Ramsey, in explanation, stated that the commissioners had waited as long as they could, since other business demanded their attention, and the food supply was getting short. This did not satisfy Eesh-ta-hen-ba (Sleepy Eyes), a prominent Sisseton chief of the Swan Lake band, who personally was bitterly opposed to the treaty. Rising, he addressed the commission: "Fathers, your coming and asking me for my country makes me sad, and your saying that I am not able to do anything with my country makes me still more sad." He then alluded to the young braves who had been turned back, as his "near relatives," and declared his intention to leave the council, upon which his warriors raised a tumult, which broke up that session.

At this critical moment the commissioners promptly proclaimed that whether a treaty was made or not was immaterial to the whites, and that, since the Dakotas were not disposed to treat, the matter would be dropped. Orders were given to issue no more rations to the Indians, but to strike the tents and be ready for departure in the morning.

This decisive action had the desired effect, for the great ma-

jority of the Indians were now really in favor of the treaty, because of its promised rewards; and such older chiefs as Sleepy Eye and Red Iron dared not oppose the wish of their young men. Hence before night a delegation from the Indians waited on the commissioners, begging them to remain, as the Dakotas wished a treaty.

The council, therefore, resumed its sittings on Monday noon, when, after an apology from Sleepy Eye for his conduct on Saturday, Oo-pee-ya-hed-ay-a (Extending Tail), a Wahpeton chief, commonly called "Curly Head" by the whites, acting as spokesman for the Indians, requested a written statement of the proposed treaty, that his people might the better understand and discuss it in their private councils. This was granted, and an adjournment was taken until the next day to give opportunity for the private deliberations.

The Indians met for this purpose at the wigwam of Chief Takara (The Enemy) on the top of the bluff, back of the commissioners' tents. At seven o'clock the next morning, the council re-assembled, and Eyangmani (Running walker), known to the whites as "Big Gun," head chief of the Wahpetons, handed to the commissioners a paper containing certain amendments to the treaty proposed by the Indians. Another adjournment was taken, to give both parties time to consider and settle points still in dispute, and to have the secretary frame the final document in proper form.

It required an all night session of the secret Indian council to adjust matters, and the ultimatum of the commissioners was not fully agreed to until only half an hour before the important document was signed.

Mr. Goodhue, an eye witness of the final scene on Wednesday, July 23rd, 1851, thus wrote of it:

This is the day fixed by the Grand Council, at which the treaty is to be signed. Clouds cover the horizon, and the sun has a struggle to unveil his face, to see what is going on. The Indians, it is said, have been in council the whole night upon the upper terrace; and messengers between them and our camp have been going to and fro continually. The proposition made by the Indians yesterday, fails to secure the entire approbation of the commissioners. The resolve of Col. Lea and Gov. Ramsey both, unreservedly stated, is to make a treaty simple in its provisions, but which shall comprehend more extensively than Indian treaties have usually done, civilization and improvement features, that will secure to the Indians substantial and

enduring benefits in all time to come. Finally, I understand, things are satisfactorily adjusted, and the Secretary is now engrossing the treaty for signature. Everybody is busy. The Indians are gathering around, male and female, all in high paint and feather. The corner in which the event is to take place, is being piled up with goods and presents of various kinds—here a huge pile of various colored blankets, there red and blue cloths, looking-glasses and ribbons, powder and lead, and hundreds of other items of utility or fancy. At 12 o'clock the weather having cleared and the sun shining brightly, the commissioners took their seats; and after a grand smoke from Col. Lea's magnificent Eyanshah pipe, the council was opened by Col. Lea.

After his short address, Secretary Foster read aloud the English copy of the treaty; and Rev. S. R. Riggs, the author of the Dakota Lexicon and then a missionary to the Sioux at Lac Qui Parle, who was one of the interpreters of the commission, read a translation of the same in Dakota.

At this point, Sleepy Eye arose and stated that some provision should be made to give his people help by the time the year got to be white, as they would be very hungry then. He then went off in a wandering speech, claiming that the sums to be paid to the Indians by the treaty were insufficient. He was finally called to order by the commission, as all the terms of the treaty had been agreed to, so that further discussion was out of place.

SIGNING THE TREATY.

After a short pause, Colonel Lea signed the treaty first, and Governor Ramsey second. Then the chiefs of the Wahpeton and Sisseton bands came forward to the Secretary's table, and affixed their signatures, beginning with "Big Gun," head chief of the Wahpetons, followed by the "Orphan," head chief of the Sissetons. The latter, when about to sign, said: "Fathers, Now, when I sign this paper, and you go to Washington with it, I want you to see all that is written here fulfilled. I have grown old, without whiskey, and I want you to take care that it does not come among us."

As chief "Curly Head" signed, he remarked: "Fathers, You think it a great deal you are giving for this country. I don't think so; for both our lands and all we get for them, will at last belong to the white man. The money comes to us, but will all go to the white men who trade with us."

After the chiefs, the principal men of each band were called forward and signed also, and each as he signed was presented with a medal. A number of the Indians had been taught by the missionaries to read and write their own language. These subscribed their own names to the paper.

THE TRADERS' PAPER.

At the same time the Indians signed a second paper, at a table improvised from an old barrel and presided over by Joseph R. Brown and Martin McLeod, which authorized the payment out of their annuities of the claims due the traders. A year later they attempted to repudiate this document.

SPEECHES AND PRESENTS.

After the signing, speeches were made by Colonel Lea and Governor Ramsey, giving much good advice to the Indians. The council concluded by a grand distribution of presents by the Sioux Agent, Nathaniel McLean, and the special purchasing agent of the commission, Hugh Tyler.

Next morning the United States flag, which had waved proudly in the breezes of Traverse des Sioux for twenty-five days, was lowered, the tents were folded and the baggage packed, the cattle and provisions were left, turned over to the Indians for a final feast, and at 1:30 P. M. the party of the commission embarked in a Mackinaw boat in charge of General Sibley for Mendota and St. Paul.

WHITE MEN PRESENT.

The names of the white people present at the treaty as far as known were: Gov. Alexander Ramsey, Col. Luke Lea, Dr. Thomas Foster, Gen. Henry H. Sibley, Nathaniel McLean, Major Joseph R. Brown, Colonel Henderson, James H. Lockwood, Hugh Tyler, William H. Forbes, James M. Goodhue, editor of "The Pioneer," Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, Alexander G. Huggins, Martin McLeod, Henry Jackson, A. S. White, Wallace B. White, Alexis Bailly, Kenneth McKenzie, H. L. Dousman, Richard Chute and wife, Franklin Steele, F. Brown, William Hartshorn, Gen. William G. LeDuc, Alexander

Faribault, Joseph La Framboise, Frank B. Mayer, and Messrs. Lord and Boury. To these should be added the families of the missionaries, Hopkins and Huggins, and some French voyageurs.

DUPLICATE TREATY AT MENDOTA.

On the 5th of August, the commissioners met the Medawakanton and Wahpekuta bands in council on Pilot Knob, Mendota, and a duplicate of the Traverse des Sioux treaty, with necessary modifications, was signed by them.

THE LANDS CEDED.

By these treaties the Sioux ceded to the United States the part of Minnesota and South Dakota west of the Mississippi river and extending as far north as a line drawn from the mouth of the Watab river, above St. Cloud, to the mouth of Buffalo river, just north of Moorhead, and reaching on the west to a line drawn from the mouth of Buffalo river south along the Red and Bois des Sioux rivers, now the western boundary of Minnesota, to the south end of lake Traverse, thence southwest to the juncture of Kampeska lake with the Sioux river just above Watertown, and thence down said river to where it is intersected by the parallel of latitude forming the south boundary of our State, just below Sioux Falls. Within this tract, however, large reservations extending along the Minnesota river were excepted as described later.

The ceded lands also embraced a part of northern Iowa, north of the Rock river, together with the country around Estherville, Emmetsburg, and Algona, and extending eastward by Osage almost to Cresco.

The cession comprised over 19,000,000 acres in Minnesota, nearly 3,000,000 acres in Iowa, and over 1,750,000 acres in South Dakota, making in all nearly 24,000,000 acres of the choicest land on the globe.

PAYMENTS AND RESERVATIONS FOR THE SIOUX.

As consideration for this rich and vast domain, it was stipulated that the upper bands should receive $1,665,000, to be paid as follows: Money to the chiefs, $275,000; Money for agricul-

tural purposes, $30,000; The remaining $1,360,000 to be held in trust by the government, interest thereon only to be paid to the Indians at the rate of five per cent. yearly, commencing July 1st, 1852, and continuing thereafter for fifty years.

This interest, amounting each year to $68,000, was to be applied as follows: (a) Agricultural purposes, $12,000; (b) Educational purposes, $6,000; (c) Goods and provisions, $10,000; (d) Money, $40,000.

The lower bands were to receive $1,410,000, to be paid in the following manner. Money to chiefs, $220,000; Money for agricultural purposes, $30,000; The remaining $1,160,000, to be held in trust by the government, interest only to be paid to the Indians at the rate of five per cent., commencing July 1st, 1852, and annually thereafter for fifty years, and to be applied as follows: (a) Agricultural purposes, $12,000; (b) Educational purposes, $6,000; (c) Goods and provisions, $10,000; and (d) Money, $30,000.

It was provided by a distinct article of the treaty, that no liquor should be sold to the Indians.

Another article provided that the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands should have a perpetual reservation ten miles wide on each side of the Minnesota river, extending from the western boundary of the ceded lands to Hawk creek and the Yellow Medicine river; and the Medawakanton and Wahpekuta bands received a like reservation of the same width continuing down the Minnesota to the Little Rock river and to a line drawn south from its mouth to the Cottonwood river.

Most of the money items designated for the chiefs were really to pay the claims of traders, and were so applied in accordance with the written stipulation made, as we stated, at the same time as the treaty.

It was assumed that at the expiration of the fifty years period the Dakotas would all be sufficiently civilized so as to need no further annuities, and the trust funds above mentioned were then to revert to the government.

AMENDMENT OF THE TREATY BY THE SENATE.

When the treaty came to be considered by the Senate on July 26th, 1852, the article giving the tracts described as perman-

ent reservations to the Indians was modified, making them temporary, and promising to pay ten cents an acre for them when other reservations should be designated.

The treaties made at Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, thus amended, were returned to Governor Ramsey, to be again signed by the Indians. The Lower bands at first objected, but finally on Saturday, September 4th, 1852, signed the amended articles, at Governor Ramsey's residence in St. Paul; and on the following Monday, at the same place, the chiefs of the Upper bands also signed.

The treaties as amended were proclaimed by President Fillmore on February 24th, 1853.

Subsequently, however, the Senate reconsidered the article relating to the reservations, and by an act of July 31st, 1854, the treaties were allowed to stand as originally made.

DISBURSEMENT OF THE FIRST PAYMENT.

As soon as the amended treaties were signed by the Indians, the money for the first payment was forwarded to Governor Ramsey, and he repaired to Traverse des Sioux to pay the Upper bands on November 12th, 1852, in company with Agent McLean, Major Joseph R. Brown, interpreter, H. H. Sibley, Dr. Foster, Hugh Tyler, Benjamin Thompson, C. D. Fillmore, brother of President Fillmore, who was then lumber agent for Minnesota, and a number of traders, among whom were H. L. Dousman, Alexis Bailly, and Martin McLeod.

THE CLAIMS OF THE TRADERS.

Governor Ramsey found the Indians in an ugly mood, because some $220,000 of their money was to be paid to traders and half-breeds under the written agreement signed at the time of the treaty. The Indians, however, repudiated this agreement, and asserted that it was a base fraud, that, as they were told and believed at the time, the paper they signed was represented to be only another copy of the treaty, and that they did not discover its real import, and the trick played upon them, until long afterward.

The agitation against the payment of these claims was instigated mostly by the whites, and came from three sources: trad-

ers who were jealous because they were allowed no share in the spoil; politicians of opposite faith to the party in power, which negotiated the treaty; and persons who honestly believed, from the reports circulated, that the Indians were wronged.

The leader of the opposition, on the part of the whites, was one Madison Sweetser, of Fort Wayne, Ind., and, on the part of the Indians, Red Iron, a Sisseton chief of the Traverse des Sioux band. Red Iron organized his band of braves into a soldiers' lodge, and for a few days after the arrival of Governor Ramsey for the payment, affairs assumed a threatening aspect at "The Crossing." The Governor promptly sent for troops from Fort Snelling, and on November 19th Capt. James Monroe arrived with forty infantry and five dragoons, and Red Iron was at once arrested and put in jail until his soldiers' lodge was broken and the payments allowed to proceed.

INVESTIGATION BY ORDER OF THE SENATE.

The opposition then carried their case into the United States Senate, which, being now Democratic, was not adverse to airing any short-comings in the late administration of their Whig opponents. An investigating committee was appointed, and the evidence was fully sifted before Judge Richard M. Young, of Illinois, during the summer of 1853, at St. Paul.

As the result of the investigation, it was shown that, although some of the Indians might not have fully understood the traders' paper which they signed, and although some of the traders had doubtless padded their claims, the commissioners had acted with the utmost honesty and good faith in the matter. Accordingly they were fully exonerated, even by a Senate politically hostile to them.

LATER NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING THE RESERVATIONS.

In 1858, a question was raised as to the title of the Sioux to their reservations because of the Senate's peculiar action in passing on that article of the treaty. The query was instigated mainly by Joeseph R. Brown, who had located on a large tract of this Sioux land north of the Minnesota river. Through his mediation an agreement was finally made at Washington by the chiefs

on June 19th, 1858, whereby the portion of their reservations south of the river was confirmed to them, with a further provision added that all so desiring should have eighty-acre farms allotted to them in severalty, with government aid in erecting suitable buildings and procuring necessary cattle and machinery; and, to further induce the Indians to take up with this agricultural life, they were to be paid wages for their labor in addition to what produce they raised. The portions of the reservations north of the river was ceded to the government for a consideration to be paid to the Indians, provided the Senate found their title thereto valid, which it did by act of June 27th, 1860.

The main result of this 1858 agreement, as Major Brown evidently anticipated, was the opening to white settlement of that northern half of the Sioux reservations.

THE SIOUX MASSACRE, 1862.

Thus matters stood until the sudden crash of the awful massacre in August, 1862, which led to the passage of an act February 16th, 1863, whereby all the rights and claims of the Sioux under these treaties, not consummated, were abrogated and annulled, their reservations decreed to be sold, and themselves to be deported forever beyond the confines of their ancient home.

RESULTS OF THE TREATY.

Glancing backward over the half century since this great treaty was made, we behold most marvelous results.

Instead of the solitary wilderness of tangled forest and swampy plain, we see, over all the land, cultivated farms, seamed everywhere with the avenues of commerce. Instead of a few remote clusters of smoking wigwams, we see a country thickly dotted with pretty homesteads and magnificent marts of trade.

Instead of eight thousand half starved, half naked savages, eking out a miserable existence in ignorance and filth, we see a million happy people, beaming with intelligence and blessed with abundance. Instead of the exportation of a few furs, we see a land contributing from its fullness the value of millions of dollars in food products to all the nations of the earth.

The wheels of industry have broken the idle stillness, and songs of peace and praise have succeeded the horrors of the war-whoop and the fiendish notes of the war-dance. In short, we see enacted before us in a few short years the miracle of Christian civilization.

Hardly had the ink dried on the treaty paper, before the settlers began to pour into the country, and, long before the government had approved the act, dozens of towns had been planted, and hundreds of claims had been located, all along the Mississippi and Minnesota valleys.

Soon after the ratification of the treaty, the Indians were removed to their reservations, upon whose eastern boundary Fort Ridgely was established in the spring of 1853 for the protection of the frontier.

The regular transportation of supplies for both soldiers and Indians to the upper Minnesota stimulated greatly the navigation of that river, and necessitated the construction of military roads, both being results of inestimable value to the pioneer in the early development of the country.

The yearly payments to the Indians of such large annuities greatly increased the money circulation of the territory, and encouraged trade in those trying days of frontier life.

These good results, however, were not unmixed with evil. The actual surrender of his country to the white man was a trying ordeal to the Dakota, as it violated every patriotic sentiment of his being. To see himself thrust out of the home of his fathers, endeared by many a tender association, and in the defense of which he had spilt his blood so freely, naturally awakened in his breast feelings of bitter regret and jealousy. The restraints of an agency life were most irksome to a liberty-loving people, like the Dakotas, accustomed to rove at their own sweet will, and to pass their days in the excitement of the chase or the glory of war.

Again, to a people who had always been taught to regard any labor other than hunting and war as unmanly, an agency, with its annuity system, practically meant a life of idleness and dependence, a condition directly tending to degeneracy. The putting, also, of large sums of money into the hands of ignorant savages, who had as little conception of its value, or how to spend

it, as so many children, rendered them a tempting prey to dishonest white men, who took every advantage of their weakness and simplicity.

But the evil which proved the most disastrous of all to the whites was the concentration of so many savages at one point, for thus not only were their evil propensities fostered and cultivated by idleness, contamination, and constant agitation of their grievances, while better opportunity was afforded them to plot mischief, but thus, also, were they enabled, when, owing to the exigences of the Civil War, there was a distressing delay in the payment of their annuities, and when the necessary restraining military force was prematurely withdrawn, to sweep down with the power of an avalanche upon our helpless frontier, in the awful massacre of 1862.

The most of these evils, however, were due, not so much to the treaty, as to untoward circumstances in carrying it out, and to unavoidable necessity, since it was impossible for the Indian and his land to remain as they were, and since civilization and savagery cannot long remain in contact without irritation, as they are naturally antagonistic. But these few evils, even if indirectly attributable to the treaty, pale before the noontide splendor of its good results as seen in the light of today. Had the treaty been faithfully kept, and had its provisions been allowed their natural fruition, the evils, doubtless, would have been mostly averted and the results might have been still more glorious.

Be that as it may, yet even the terrible Indian massacre was not an unmitigated evil. That rude shock broke the thick crust of heathendom about many a Dakota heart, and in the great prison revivals at Mankato and Fort Snelling, in the winter of 1862-3, the seeds of a new life planted by the faithful missionaries began to be manifested, which by today has transformed the miserable savage of forty years ago into an intelligent, thrifty citizen, a noble Christian character.

In view, therefore, of all its splendid results, we conclude that this treaty, which the first governor of our great Commonwealth, today the honored president of our Historical Society, took such conscientious pains in framing, with his worthy colleague, the signing of which was such a signal triumph of peaceful diplomacy, and which has added to civilization such a magni-

ficent domain, is an event second to none in our history, and is indeed well worthy the commemoration of a grateful posterity.

THE PURPOSES OF THE EARLIER TREATY IN 1841.

The treaties made by Governor Doty in July, 1841, and by Colonel Lea and Governor Ramsey in July, 1851, though differing widely in their main purposes and methods, yet had many points in common. Not only were both made at the same place, with the same Indians, for the purchase of the same lands, but both contained special features looking to the civilization of the Indian. It is curious to note further that both were made under Whig administrations, the former under President Tyler, and the latter under President Fillmore, both of whom had come to the executive chair under very similar circumstances.

While Governor Doty's scheme for the civilization and government of the Indians was doubtless very utopian, still these features would likely have been amended and the treaty confirmed, had it not been sent to the Senate just when the unfortunate strife between the President and his own party was at its height, and only a few days before the resignation of the cabinet, including the Hon. John Bell, secretary of war, under whose special direction the treaty had been negotiated. In the turmoil of that hour, it is no wonder that such an unimportant matter then as an Indian treaty should be neglected by the Whigs, and in those days of bitter partisanship it could not be expected that the Democratic party would favor any measure which had originated with a Whig administration.

To show something of the nature of the Doty treaty, and the manner of its reception at the time, I append a few clippings from the newspapers of that period, kindly furnished me by Mr. R. G. Thwaites, the secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON THE DOTY TREATY.

From the Madison Express, September 1, 1841.

Governor Doty arrived in town on Monday evening last from the Indian country in the West, where he had gone for the purpose of treating with the Dakota Indians for some land on which to settle the eastern and northern Indians. We have had no conversation with the Governor on this subject since his arrival, but from the extract of a letter from Mindota,

which we publish to-day, it will be seen that his excellency has effected a treaty with the western bands of the Dakota Indians for about thirty millions of acres of land, and that a great number of that nation have also agreed to settle on the land. This plan of civilizing the Indians strikes us as the best which has yet been proposed to attain that desirable object. How much preferable is this plan, to civilize the Indians and make good and useful citizens of them, to invading their country and with fire and sword sweep them from the face of the earth. It is supposed by many that the Indian cannot be civilized. This we do not believe. But to overrun their country, and burn and destroy their dwellings and crops, and kill their cattle, and suffer them to be cheated by dishonest traders, is certainly not the way to civilize them. If this great object (the civilization of the Indians) can be effected, that man, or body of men, who have been, or will be, instrumental in any way in the accomplishment of this great work, deserve and will receive the approbation and blessings of countless thousands of the human race, both Indians and whites.

The following is an extract of a letter to a gentleman in this town, dated,

Mindota, August 7, 1841.

Dear Sir—Gov. Doty has returned to this place, having succeeded in effecting a treaty with the western bands of Indians of the Dakota Nation for about thirty millions of acres, for a territory for the eastern and northern Indians. Upwards of five thousand Indians of that nation have also agreed to settle as agriculturists on the tract.

The administration has wisely adopted the plan of giving to each Indian who becomes a settler and cultivates his farm, the title to one hundred acres of land after two years; and if he is then civilized, he may enroll his name with the Governor, and become a citizen of the United States. But the land thus granted cannot be transferred to white men in any way, and can only descend to Indian blood. There are many other important features in the treaty, of great advantage to the Indians, leading them on to civilization, and which will mark the policy of this administration from that which has heretofore deprived this primitive race of all civil and political rights and privileges.

The western bands were much gratified to see Gov. Doty in their country, and gave him a very cordial welcome as an old friend. Several hundred guns, loaded with ball, were discharged over his head and around him on his arrival at Oeyoowora, 120 miles west of this, and many more on his departure. Indeed they expressed in every possible manner their satisfaction with the views and intentions of government.

From the Madison Express, September 8, 1841.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT INDIAN TREATY.

AN INDIAN TERRITORAL GOVERNMENT.

A friend at Prairie du Chien has furnished us with the particulars

of an arrangement with the Sioux Indians, which, we imagine, will hereafter excite a good deal of speculation. It seems to be the intention of the Government to establish an INDIAN TERRITORY, north of the St. Peter's River, with limited legislative powers, to be governed much as our Territories are governed now—the General Government to appoint the Governor, and the Indians to choose the council;—in a word, to change the habits of the Indians from those of the roving hunter to the quiet agriculturist, and to place over them the voluntary restraints of civil law, in the stead of their present chieftain vassalage. It is possible that the thing may be successfully done—it is worthy of an effort—but we are skeptical as to the result. It will be a difficult matter to break up with the Indians their present mode of government by chiefs, and to transform them into quiet citizens, capable of exercising the elective franchise —and equally so to make them 'bury the hatchet,' and 'learn war no more.' However, the Government can try the experiment, particularly as the Indians are to pay for their tuition at the cost of *twenty-five millions of acres of land.*. We are likewise bound to respect the feeling of real philanthropy which has prompted this movement.

Gov. Doty, we understand, has been the sole agent of the Government in the formation of this treaty, and will receive all due credit for his conduct. He arrived at Prairie du Chien from St. Peter's on the 26th ult., in a skiff, accompanied by his lady.

The following is the letter of our correspondent:—

"Gov. Doty has been for some weeks among the Sioux Indians, and the report is, that he has purchased all the country south of the St. Peter's River and east of a line due south from its source, containing about 25,000,000 acres. The Sioux reserve some 300,000 or 400,000 acres for which they are to cultivate the soil—the Government furnishing them with farmers to instruct them. On this purchased land are to be settled some 50,000 or more of other Indians from the east of the Mississippi, all of whom, combined with the Sioux, are to form an 'Indian Territory,' the Governor to be appointed by the General Government, and they to elect men to a Council to make laws for their own government.

"Three Forts are to be established within the district, to preserve peace among them, and to protect them from foreign invasion. Probably as much of the purchase as falls within the State of Iowa will be sold to be settled by the whites; but that portion of it which lies north of the State will be occupied as above described.

"The Governor has discovered bituminous coal and copper on the St. Peter's, to which steamboats can ascend, specimens of which are now at Prairie du Chien.

"This arrangement will throw a large body of Indians upon our immediate frontier; but the effort that will be made to civilize them is deemed a sufficient guarantee of their peaceable deportment. And the money expended by and for the troops, together with the Indian annuities, will supply us with a circulating medium, and, to some extent, a market

for our surplus produce; all of which will contribute to the settlement and improvement of our country."

We give the above information as it has been received from a respectable source, vouching no further for its correctness.—*Galena Gazette.*

From the Madison Express, September 22, 1841.

[From the Missouri Republican.]

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

Some time ago, when informed that Gov. Doty, of Wiskonsan, had concluded a treaty for the purchase of a large tract of country from the Indians, we did not credit the report, for we were unaware of his having been appointed to make such a treaty. We, however, yesterday received a letter from Fort Snelling which informs us that Governor Doty has just returned to that place from the Indian country.

Our informant appears to be conversant with the substance of the treaty and the purposes. From him we learn that a treaty was concluded by Governor Doty with the western bands of the Dakota nation, on the 31st July, at a place called Oeyoowora, 120 miles west of the Falls of St. Anthony, for a district of country which is hereafter to compose an Indian Territory, to be occupied by the Indians now in the Eastern and Northern States and Territories. The purchase embraces the valley of the Minnesota river (St. Peter's) and its tributaries; and there is not a better tract of land or a more healthy climate in the west. Missouri and Arkansaw will now be relieved from the presence of any more emigrating Indians on their western borders, and to them this new measure of the Secretary of War is of great importatnce. The country acquired is sufficiently large to accommodate fifty thousand settlers with farms of one hundred acres each. Besides, advantages are secured to them which have never been granted heretofore. Among others, the fulfillment of the promise that Indians, when civilized, may hold the title to real estate, and become citizens of the United States. Unless these privileges are granted to the Indians, every other effort which is made to civilize but teaches him that he is one of a degraded race, without civil or political privileges.

The course of policy which Mr. Bell has adopted towards the northern Indians distinguishes him from all his predecessors, and places him far above them. He treats the Indians as human beings, and gives them a place, if they choose to occupy it, among cultivated men.

Governor Doty certainly deserves great credit for the promptness and the despatch with which he has carried his transaction through. There is no man more energetic than Governor D., and no one better calculated to trade with the Indians. Maugre all the traductions of the locofoco papers on this gentleman, we feel assured that the government will find him an efficient officer and a powerful auxiliary in its intercourse with the Indian tribes. Years of experience have made him conversant with

the western people and with tribes of Indians who surround the Territories.

From the Madison Express, October 27, 1841.

[From the Davenport Gazette.]

GOV. DOTY'S TREATY WITH THE DAKOTA INDIANS.

Mr. Sanders, Dear Sir: As every incident connected with the Indians, within our Territorial borders, is of vast and increasing interest to each and every citizen of this Territory, it is with pleasure that I am able to inform you that the statement, as made by the Globe and other Loco Foco prints, in different sections of the country, "That the treaty as concluded by Gov. Doty has beeen rejected in the Senate," is *entirely without foundation.* It was received, but all action upon it was deferred until the next Session of Congress, on account of the unfortunate difficulties in the Cabinet, and between the President and Congress.

That it is of vital importance to the North Western States and Territories, that this treaty should be confirmed and immediately carried into effect, no person with a knowledge of the facts will deny. I should be sorry indeed, if the report of its rejection had been correct, for unless it is confirmed, there is no prospect of a removal of the Tribes now within our limits, for many succeeding years.

Instead of the corruptions and extravagance as represented in the Globe, the terms of the Treaty are in all respects (I am informed by those who have seen them) highly advantageous to the Government and to the Indians. The appropriations which will be required to carry its provisions into effect, will be less than those now made to the Winnebagoes, who did not cede to the United States one-half the quantity of land which is ceded by this Treaty.

Such being the facts of the case, the importatnce of this Treaty will strike the most casual observer; and when I confidently express the hope that the Treaty as made by Gov. Doty, and the one about to be made with the Sac and Fox nations, will be ratified and confirmed by the next Congress, and provisions made to carry them into effect, I am very sure I express the wishes of a large majority of the thinking population of our Territory.

As I consider this a matter of the first importance, I shall at my leisure, with your permission lay before your readers many facts connected with this subject, in which we are all so deeply interested.

A CITIZEN OF IOWA.

Davenport, Oct. 12th, 1841.

THE LATE SIOUX TREATY.

Strong attempts are making by the Globe and other papers of that kidney, to cast odium upon the late Treaty with the Sioux Indians, by which they agreed to sell about twenty-five millions of acres of their lands to the United States. From what we hear of the provisions of

that Treaty, we should deem it to be one of the most important that has for a long time been made. Its consequences (both to the Indians and whites, to the mutual advantage and well-being of all), if its provisions are carried out, make us ardently hope that the Senate will weigh the matter well before they fail to ratify it.—Indeed, we can hardly believe they have any intention of doing otherwise than to confirm it, from the evidence we have. Almost any one can trace out many advantages resulting from it. To say nothing of the immense tract of fertile country that it will throw open to civilization (its value in this light cannot be estimated), it will have the effect to place the Indians in a state of dependence on this Government, which will not only enable us to preserve peace between us and them, but in time of war they may even serve as our protection against other Indians. For instance, the Chippeways, a powerful tribe, are known to be more or less under British influence, and, in case of war between the United States and England, would be likely to espouse the cause of the latter. The Sioux are their hereditary enemies, and the use to which they might be put in such an emergency to guard our northern frontiers may be seen at a glance. In time of peace, they will make a market for a part of our produce—and good markets are what we shall soon want. Some objections are made to the price paid for the purchase. The exact price agreed upon we have to learn, nor are we very particular about it. Money paid to the Indians, like "bread cast upon the waters," is pretty sure to "return after many days." A certain amount is to be paid in furnishing husbandmen to cultivate their lands, and mechanics who are to reside among them, to supply their necessary wants and instruct them in the arts of civilized life. This, certainly, is not money thrown away. It goes not out of the country—as in the purchase of foreign broadcloths and silks. The benevolence of the act should count something. If the Indians can be made to live in peace, and learn to depend for their support on the quiet arts of agriculture, we must believe that a vast amount of human misery would be avoided.—*Galena Gazette.*

From the Madison Express, November 3, 1841.

[From the Hawkeye.]

Gov. Doty's Treaties.

The "Globe man," at Washington, appears to be very anxious to create the impression upon the public mind, that these treaties bear the same character with those which were formed under the Jackson and Van Buren administrations, and which he lauded so highly. But he is mistaken; they were neither effected by corruption nor have they any corrupt purpose.

It is unnecessary to explain to him what are their provisions, because it is manifest that, either in the War Department or the secret bureaus of the Senate, the opportunity has been afforded him to inspect them. This violation of the rules of both of those Departments of the

Government (or at least one of them) has given him the opportunity to publish false and garbled statements of their provisions. This is the true loco foco principle, otherwise it would be strange that with the facts before him he could not tell the truth.

Gov. Doty, it is well known, can have nothing to do with the execution of the provisions of these treaties, as the country ceded and the Indians are not within his Superintendency, but are entirely within the Territory of Iowa. The insinuations of the Globe, that they contain provisions out of which he can make money as a public officer, and that they were inserted by him for this purpose, are wholly groundless; and are of the same character of those which have heretofore been made against him in that and other prints of a kindred character. The Globe forgets when he makes such charges that he is not a loco foco.

We are correctly informed when we state that the thirty-three millions of acres are not to cost the United States "from six to eight millions of dollars," as is asserted by the Globe; but that it will not cost two millions of dollars to carry every provision into effect. We also assert that the annual appropriation required for this object for the first ten years will not be more than sixty or seventy thousand dollars; and afterwards it will be reduced to fifty thousand. Will the Globe dare to contrast these with the South Western Treaties, or with the Pottowattomie and Winnebago Treaties which he applauded so highly, because they were the measures of his masters, and let the public know the difference in the number of acres purchased and the price paid under Loco foco treaties and Whig treaties?

We understand this attack of the Globe on these treaties, for the purpose of preventing their ratification, to be a direct attack upon the future settlement and prosperity of these northwestern States and Territories. He knew that the object of the administration in forming them was to provide a country for the exclusive occupation of all of the Indians from New York to the Missouri river. And he knew that unless such a country was provided the Indians now in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, must remain where they are, impeding and annoying the settlements, alike currupting and corrupted by their contact with those settlements, a burthen to the States in which they reside, and at a great expense and trouble to the general government.

Is Iowa prepared to admit that there shall be no further extinguishment of the Indian title within her limits; and that the Sacs, Foxes, and Pottawattomies should continue to inhabit the country which they now occupy? If so, let them assist in procuring the rejection of these Treaties. The South Western States declare they will have no more Indians concentrated on their frontier, and the State of Missouri, if the United States owned the country on her western boundary, does not wish to be hemmed in by such neighbors.

The portion of country now selected by the administration for a permanent home for these people (as agriculturists if they choose) is exteric-

to all of the white settlements and away from their tracts. It does not therefore interfere with the progress of settlement, or the civil or political divisions of the country. And we now call upon the people of Iowa to notice the efforts of the Opposition to prevent the removal of the Indians by this administration beyond her borders—merely because John Tyler is President, and not Martin Van Buren.

Much other interesting information concerning that early treaty is contained in the recommendations of Hon. John Bell, secretary of war, transmitted with the treaty to the Senate by President Tyler, September 1st, 1841, as published in "Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897," Volume IV, pages 59-63.

GOVERNOR DOTY AND LE SUEUR'S COPPER MINE ON THE BLUE EARTH RIVER.

Doty seems to have heard the story of Le Sueur's copper mine near the mouth of the Blue Earth river, and to have been so impressed with it that, while attending his treaty at Traverse des Sioux, he had many visions of this useful metal, as appeared by the following extract from his report made a year afterward: "I saw many evidences of copper along the banks of the Minisoto (St. Peter), but chiefly on the south bank. You are aware that at the mouth of the Mukahto river there was, a hundred years ago, a copper smelting establishment erected by a Frenchman. I visited the ruins last summer. There is no doubt in my mind that extensive beds of copper ore will be found in the valley of the Minisoto, above tne sandstone rapid, which is fifty miles from its mouth."

It is difficult now to imagine where Governor Doty saw his signs of copper in the Minnesota valley, unless, perhaps, in the color of its aboriginal inhabitants.

PLACE OF THE TREATY.

We found great difficulty in locating the exact spot where the treaty was signed, and it was only after much diligent inquiry that we were enabled at last to determine it with certainty. Very few of those who were present at the treaty now survive, and the change in the appearance of the country, and the lapse of time

since they saw it, render their recollections somewhat indefinite.

The only person now living, who was present at the treaty and who has lived at Traverse des Sioux ever since, within a stone's throw of the spot where the treaty was signed, is Mrs. Louisa Carpenter. She is quite an intelligent woman and a granddaughter of the noted Sioux chief, Mazahsha (Red Iron). Her father, Louis Laramie, a Canadian Frenchman, came to Traverse des Sioux early in the 40's from Mendota. Mrs. Carpenter has an excellent memory, and, though only about eight years old at the time of the treaty, she recalls distinctly many incidents connected with its making. The commissioners' tents, the building of the booth which was used for a council chamber, the speech of chief Sleepy Eye, the drowning and the recovery of the body of Rev. Robert Hopkins, the missionary, the caution given by the chiefs to the children to keep away from the council chamber so as not to disturb the sessions with their noise, the use of the old log warehouse by the whites for their kitchen, and many other happenings of the time, she recalls quite vividly.

Another person thoroughly familiar with the old landmarks of Traverse des Sioux is Louis A. Robert, who has resided in the vicinity since 1853. He is a son of Antoine Robert and a nephew of Louis Robert, the famous steamboat captain and trader. He is a most genial gentleman and rendered much assistance in locating the site of the treaty.

Valuable information as to the site, and as to other matters pertaining to the treaty, was also kindly furnished by Governor Ramsey, Mrs. Grace C. Pond, Rev. Moses N. Adams, and others. Mrs. Pond is the widow of the Rev. Robert Hopkins, who was drowned accidentally in the Minnesota river on the morning of July 4th, 1851, while bathing near his home, making the saddest incident of the treaty story. Mrs. Pond resided at Traverse des Sioux from April, 1844, to September 17th, 1851, and, with her husband and Mr. and Mrs. Huggins, taught the mission school there. She witnessed the treaty from beginning to end. Rev. M. N. Adams, the pioneer missionary and preacher, has been familiar with the sites of Traverse des Sioux since 1848; and, though not present at the treaty, he was there a short time afterward and saw the spot, when every evidence was fresh, and he

made his home at Traverse des Sioux for many years immediately thereafter.

The main difficulty in determining the site of the treaty has arisen from a mistake as to the site of Louis Provencalle's store. The majority of the old settlers seem to have taken it for granted that this store stood three or four rods northwest of the present residence of Mrs. Jacob Frank, on block 35 of the old townsite. None of these old settlers have personal knowledge of the fact, except that some of them recall seeing an old log building there. All the earliest settlers who actually saw the store when occupied by Provencalle, and who therefore speak with authority, place its site just where the barn of Mr. Demos Young now stands, on the south side of block 33 of the townsite.

This old store fronted south and was built of hewn logs with the ends grooved, so as to fit into two upright posts firmly planted at each end, thus making four posts at each corner to hold the walls in position, instead of laying the logs one across the other at the corners, so as to dovetail them together after the usual method. A few feet west of the store was another small log building which Provencalle had used as a dwelling. Enclosing the two buildings and a garden patch and some horse sheds in the rear was a high fence, or, rather, a palisade of stakes, pointed at the top.

These buildings had been erected very early, and in the summer of 1841 Governor Doty had held his treaty in the old store; and Father Ravoux, in the fall of the same year, had used it in giving religious instruction to the children of Provencalle and of the voyageurs in his employ and in administering to them the rite of baptism. Owing to the owner's death the previous February, these buildings had been vacated some months before the treaty of 1851, and during the treaty they were used by the commission as kitchen and store-room.

It seems, however, that there was an old log warehouse, standing near Mrs. Frank's present residence on the same bench of land, about sixty rods south of the Provencalle buildings. This

structure of unhewn logs fronted north, and had neither floor, chimney, nor window, and evidently was very ancient at the time of the treaty. Mrs. Carpenter insists that the Doty treaty and Ravoux school were held in it, and that it was used as a kitchen by the Ramsey-Lea Commission. I am inclined to believe, though, that she is in error as to this; but, as to the spot where the great treaty of 1851 was held, all who were present at it agree, and hence there can be no reasonable doubt. It is located in front of where the old Provencalle buildings stood, about fifteen rods to the south, and just north of a small natural ditch.

A spot of such historic interest should be marked by a suitable monument, since there and then, in the glorious annals of our great Northwest,

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new."

HISTORY OF STEAMBOATING ON THE MINNESOTA RIVER.*

BY THOMAS HUGHES.

The picturesque river which gave our commonwealth its name has always been an important feature in the geography and history of this northwest country.

The geologist reads in the deep erosion of this valley, and in its continuance to lake Traverse, which outflows to lake Winnipeg and Hudson bay, the story of a mighty river, the outlet of a vast ancient lake covering the Red river region in the closing part of the Glacial period. What use, if any, the primitive men of that time made of this majestic stream, we know not.

The Dakota tribes, whom the white explorers found dwelling upon our river's margin two or three centuries ago, called it "the sky-tinted", from the tincture given its water by the rich clayey soil of its valley. Their mortal foes, the Ojibways, whose home was among the somber pines of the north, were impressed with the greenness of its luxuriant foliage, and hence knew it as Ashkiibogi-Sibi, "the River of the Green Leaf." The French traders named it the St. Pierre (or St. Peter), probably in honor of one of their leaders who had been among the first to explore it.

Many and varied have been the scenes enacted upon its banks, scenes of thrilling adventure and glorious valor, as well as of happy merriment and tender love. It was for centuries the arena of many a sanguinary conflict, and the blood of Iowas, Dakotas, Ojibways, and white men, often mingled freely with its flood.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 14, 1902.

EARLIEST NAVIGATION BY WHITE MEN.

For generations unknown the only craft its bosom bore was the canoe of the Indian. Then came the French traders, with their retinue of voyaguers, who made our river an avenue of a great commerce in Indian goods and costly furs. For over a hundred years fleets of canoes and Mackinaw boats, laden with Indian merchandise, plied constantly along the river's sinuous length. The sturdy voyaguers, however, left to history but a scant record of their adventurous life. A brave and hardy race were they, inured to every peril and hardship, yet ever content and happy; and long did the wooded bluffs of the Minnesota echo with their songs of old France.

The first white men known to have navigated the Minnesota were Le Sueur and his party of miners, who entered its mouth in a felucca and two row boats on September 20th, 1700, and reached the mouth of the Blue Earth on the 30th of the same month. The next spring he carried with him down the river a boat-load of blue or green shale which he had dug from the bluffs of the Blue Earth, in mistake for copper ore. Much more profitable, doubtless, he found the boat-load of beaver and other Indian furs, which he took with him at the same time. This is the first recorded instance of freight transportation on the Minnesota river.

In the winter of 1819-20, a deputation of Lord Selkirk's Scotch colony, who had settled near the site of Winnipeg, traveled through Minnesota to Prairie du Chien, a journey of about a thousand miles, to purchase seed wheat. On April 15th, 1820, they started back in three Mackinaw boats loaded with 200 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of oats, and 30 bushels of peas. During the month of May they ascended the Minnesota from its mouth to its source, and, dragging their loaded boats over the portage on rollers, descended the Red river to their homes, which they reached early in June.

The Mackinaw or keel boats used on the river in those days were open vessels of from twenty to fifty feet in length by four to ten feet in width, and capable of carrying from two to eight tons burden. They were propelled by either oars or poles as the exigencies of the river might require. The crew usually comprised from five to nine men. One acted as steersman, and, in

poling, the others, ranging themselves in order upon a plank laid lengthwise of the boat on each side, would push the boat ahead; and as each, in rotation, reached the stern, he would pick up his pole and start again at the prow. Their progress in ascending the river would be from five to fifteen miles per day, depending upon the stage of water and the number of rapids they had to climb.

Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, the noted missionary to the Indians, in describing his first journey up the valley of the Minnesota, in June, 1835, gives an interesting account of how he shipped his wife and children and his fellow helpers, Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Huggins, with their goods, on one of these boats, which was nine days in making the trip from Fort Snelling to Traverse des Sioux.

In the correspondence of Mrs. S. R. Riggs, the wife of another famous missionary to the Sioux, is found a vivid picture of a Mackinaw boat, belonging to the old Indian trader, Philander Prescott, in which she ascended the Minnesota in September, 1837. It was about forty feet long by eight feet wide and capable of carrying about five tons. It was manned by a crew of five persons, one to steer, and two on each side to furnish the motive power. Oars were used as far as to the Little rapids, about three miles above Carver, and thence to Traverse des Sioux poles were employed. The journey consumed five days.

Illustrative of the size and capacity of some of the canoes used by the traders, we find George A. McLeod in April, 1853, bringing down from Lac qui Parle to Traverse des Sioux forty bushels of potatoes, besides a crew of five men, in a single canoe twenty-five feet long by forty-four inches wide, hollowed out of a huge cottonwood tree.

EARLIEST STEAMBOATS.

The first steamboat to enter the Minnesota river was the Virginia on May 10th, 1823. She was not a large vessel, being only 118 feet long by 22 feet wide, and she only ascended as far as Mendota and Fort Snelling, which during the period between the years 1820 and 1848 were about the only points of importance in the territory now embraced within our state. Hence all the boats navigating the upper Mississippi in those days had to enter the Minnesota to reach these terminal points.

Except for these landings at its mouth, and save that in 1842 a small steamer with a party of excursionists on board ascended it as far as the old Indian village near Shakopee, no real attempt was made to navigate the Minnesota with steamboats until 1850. Prior to this time it was not seriously thought that the river was navigable to any great distance for any larger craft than a keel boat, and the demonstration to the contrary, then witnessed, has made that year notable in the history of the state.

EXCURSIONS IN THE YEAR 1850.

In June, 1850, the Anthony Wayne, a Mississippi river boat in charge of Captain Daniel Able, arrived at St. Paul with a party of St. Louis people. They were a jolly crowd, and to enliven their trip had brought with them a small band of music from Quincy, Illinois. Just then there was quite a freshet in the Minnesota, and it was suggested to Captain Able that to entertain his guests he take his boat on an excursion up this river, then little known, to see the country. The people of St. Paul were soon enlisted in the project, and a purse of $225 was raised to defray the expense.

On the day set, Friday, the 28th of June, early in the morning the Anthony Wayne, with her decks crowded with one hundred and fourteen of St. Paul's prominent citizens and the seventy St. Louis people, started on her memorable journey up the Minnesota. All nature seemed propitious. The day clear and balmy, the luxuriant vegetation freshened by recent showers, and the river full to the brim, glistening like silver between its winding avenues of trees gaily decked and festooned in varied green, all combined to make a glorious paradise of this most charming of valleys. Louis Pelon and Thomas J. Odell, because of their acquaintance with the river, acted as pilots.

At Fort Snelling our excursionists found Captain Monroe with only fifty men in charge and expecting every moment to be summoned to Sauk Rapids to quell a disturbance by the Winnebagoes, which happened the next day. Here the military band, under the lead of Mr. Jackson, joined the excursion.

The first point of note above the fort, and at a distance of about three miles by land from it, was Black Dog's village, comprising a row of huts and tepees ranged on the brow of the north bluff. The intervening ground between the bluff and the

river was covered with patches of corn and beans, which the squaws were busily hoeing. Near by on the same side of the river, but close to its banks, they passed Man Cloud's village.

Five or six miles beyond (by land measure), Good Road's village stood on the south bank. About ten miles farther, and on the same side of the river, lay Six's village, where Samuel Pond had his mission station. Nearly opposite the present village of Chaska was a village of Wahpahton Sioux, where Louis Robert had a trading post, for which the boat unloaded some goods. At the foot of the rapids near Carver our steamer overtook a keel boat bearing the name "Rocky Mountains," whose crew were engaged in the arduous task of forcing their boat up the rushing waters by dragging it with a long rope passed around a tree above and by pushing it with their long poles. The Wayne concluded not to attempt the rapids, and turned her prow homeward.

The fuel having given out, the boat crew made a raid on an Indian cemetery close at hand, and replenished their stock from the dry poles and pickets there found. This vandalism was probably excused on the ground of necessity, no other dry wood being available. Be that as it may, it is certain that the steam generated by this funereal fuel soon carried the Wayne and her happy burden home. The voyage had proven eminently successful, and the people were wild in their praise of the river and the beautiful country it drained.

Emulous of the Wayne's achievement, the Nominee, a rival boat in command of Captain Orren Smith, got up another excursion party, and on the 12th of July sailed up the river, and passing the formidable rapids planted her shingle three miles above, and then returned home in triumph.

The Wayne, not to be thus outdone by a rival, on the 18th of the same month, with a third excursion on board, ascended again the now famous river. The Fort Snelling band participated also in this journey. Passing the rapids and the shingle of the Nominee on the first day, the Wayne spent her second night at Traverse des Sioux. Here the missionaries, Messrs. Hopkins and Huggins and their families, extended generous hospitality; and the next morning they joined the party in their farther progress up the river. After partaking of a picnic dinner at the bend in the river two or three miles below the present city of Mankato, our excursionists turned the prow of the Wayne home-

ward, whence arriving they swelled the praise of the beautiful valley of the Minnesota more than ever.

Incited by the success of these boats, the Yankee, a steamer belonging to the Harris line, determined to outdo them all. Accordingly a big excursion, comprising most of the prominent officials and business men of St. Paul, was organized, and on Monday, the 22nd day of July, this ambitious little boat steamed into the mouth of the Minnesota. She was officered by M. K. Harris, captain, J. S. Armstrong, pilot, G. W. Scott, first engineer, and G. L. Sargent, second engineer. The Fort Snelling band was again in requisition. Late on the afternoon of the second day the boat passed Traverse des Sioux, where the missionaries had just harvested a small field of wheat, probably the first ever raised in the valley. It certainly was fitting that this first year of steamboating in the valley should also be the first year to grow that commodity which was to play so important a part in the river's traffic.

The second night was spent at the upper end of Kasota prairie. It was a charming moonlight night, and a number of the Yankee's party held a dance on the grassy floor of this level plateau. The band furnished the music (some of the dancers said that several mosquito bands were out too).

Early Wednesday the Yankee started up stream again, soon passing the sign the Anthony Wayne had fastened to a neighboring tree the week before. On the mound at the mouth of the Blue Earth our travelers found a small Indian trading post, belonging to H. H. Sibley, in charge of a Frenchman. Discovering here in the sand what seemed to be pieces of cannel coal, they were told by the Frenchman that two or three miles up the Blue Earth there was a solid bed of coal four feet thick in a bluff. This must have been the same wonderful bluff in which Le Sueur found his copper mine, but as no such bluff was ever afterward known in that locality, and as the Frenchman also mysteriously disappeared, there may be some ground for the report that he stole it, or it may have been all "bluff," a French "bluff."

By the third evening the boat reached a point a little above the present village of Judson in Blue Earth county. Even thus late in the season (July 24th), the stage of water in the river was excellent, and no difficulty so far had been incurred in its navigation. It was voted that evening to proceed again on the mor-

row, but the intense heat (which had been 104 degrees in the shade that day) and the swarms of mosquitoes prevented both crew and passengers from sleeping. For that reason, and because provisions were nearly exhausted, the vote was reconsidered in the morning, and the fourth night found them again at Traverse des Sioux.

On the next day they spent an hour at Six's village. The old chief, with about a hundred of his braves, came down to the landing to meet them, and there he made a speech claiming big damages because the excursionists had tramped down his corn. True, the corn had been drowned out and washed away by the high water long before the whites landed; but then, the Great Spirit was angry because they had taken those big fire canoes up the river, and that was why the freshet came, so they ought to pay for the corn. How Six (or "Half a Dozen," as James Goodhue of the "Pioneer" called him) succeeded with his damage suit is not stated, but our travelers reached St. Paul all safe by night.

Never did they forget the beautiful country they had seen, and the delightful journey they had taken on its most picturesque highway. Nearly all the prominent people of the Territory, and scores of visitors from the East, had participated in one or more of these excursions. The navigability of the Minnesota by steamboat was now a demonstrated fact, and the desirability for settlement of the fertile country it drained was by these eye witnesses everywhere enthusiastically heralded. This focusing of the public eye on the valley contributed in no small degree to the making of the great treaty with the Sioux in the following summer, whereby this magnificent country was thrown open to civilization.

THE TREATY OF 1851, AND ENSUING IMMIGRATION.

On the 29th of June, 1851, the steamer Excelsior (called by the Indians the Buck boat, from the antlered head of a deer which decorated its prow) transported the treaty commissioners, Hon. Luke Lea and Governor Ramsey, with their attendants and supplies, to Traverse des Sioux, where at sunrise on the morning of the 30th they arrived. On the 20th of July the Benjamin Franklin, No. 1, carried to the same place a party of St. Paul people to witness the famous treaty then in progress. The

third and only other boat to ascend the Minnesota this year was the Uncle Toby, which on October 7th conveyed to Traverse des Sioux the first load of Indian goods under the new treaty.

During the fall and winter following this treaty there was a great rush of settlers into the Minnesota valley, and before the spring of 1852 a series of town sites lined the banks of the river from St. Paul to the mouth of the Blue Earth, a distance by water of a hundred and fifty miles. These embryo towns were at once in dire need of communication with the civilized world, that they might be accessible to the swarms of settlers ever pressing westward, and that those locating in them might have their wants supplied.

STEAMBOAT TRAFFIC, 1852 TO 1871.

Among the proprietors of the townsite of Mankato were Henry Jackson and Col. D. A. Robertson, both influential business men of St. Paul. Through their efforts the steamer Tiger, under Captain Maxwell, was induced to make three trips to the remote Blue Earth town in the spring of 1852. She left St. Paul on her first journey April 21st, and returned on the 25th of the same month. Her second and third trips were made on April 28th and May 18th. Each time she carried a full load of passengers and freight for Mankato and intermediate points. The Minnesota now becoming too low for navigation, the Tiger went elsewhere.

In the meantime, by an act of Congress passed June 8th, 1852, this river, which heretofore the whites had called the St. Peter's, had its ancient Sioux name, Minnesota, restored to it. The mid-summer rains restored to it, also, its navigable condition, and Colonel Robertson succeeded in chartering the Black Hawk to make three trips to Mankato during July. The Black Hawk was a stern-wheel boat, just built the winter before at Rock Island, and was well adapted for the Minnesota trade, being 130 feet long with a 21-foot beam, and drawing only 17 inches of water. She had thirty state rooms, with berths for sixty passengers, and was capable of carrying 130 tons. Her captain was W. P. Hall, and her clerk W. Z. Dalzell. She left St. Paul on her first voyage up the Minnesota on the third of July, having on board, besides freight, forty passengers, fifteen of whom were booked to Mankato. The boat arrived there on the morning of

the 5th, and returned the next day to St. Paul. On the 12th and 21st of July the Black Hawk departed on her second and third trips to Mankato, and during the same season she made two trips to Babcock's Landing, just opposite the present city of St. Peter, and one to Traverse des Sioux.

The Jennie Lind also entered the Minnesota trade this year, and during July made one trip to Babcock's Landing, one to Traverse des Sioux, and one to Holmes' Landing (now Shakopee). The steamer Enterprise also went as far as Little rapids, making in all thirteen departures from the St. Paul wharf during this very first year of traffic with white settlers.

The first boat to enter the Minnesota in 1853 was the Greek Slave, a new boat built especially for this river by Captain Louis Robert. She left St. Paul on April 4th with 150 passengers, besides a full load of freight, and on the 7th arrived at Traverse des Sioux and Mankato. Another boat to enter the trade this year was the Clarion, a small stern-wheel vessel of seventy-two and one-half tons burden, owned by Captain Humbertson. On her first voyage she carried an excursion to Traverse des Sioux, where she arrived on April 22nd.

Two events of 1853, of much importance in the development of the Minnesota river trade, were the establishing upon its head waters of the Sioux Agencies and the erection in their vicinity of Fort Ridgely. The necessity thus created, of transporting to such a distance up the river the large quantity of supplies required annually by both soldier and Indian, gave an impetus for years to the steamboat traffic of the Minnesota.

The West Newton, Captain D. S. Harris, secured the contract to convey the troops with their baggage from Fort Snelling to the new post. She was a small packet, 150 feet long and of 300 tons burden, and had been bought the summer before by the Harris brothers to compete with the Nominee in the Mississippi river trade. She left Fort Snelling on Wednesday, the 27th day of April, 1853, having on board two companies of the Sixth U. S. Regiment, in command of Captains Dana and Monroe. To help carry the baggage, she had two barges in tow. The Tiger had also departed from St. Paul on the 25th, and the Clarion on the 26th, each with a couple of barges in tow, heavily loaded with supplies for the new fort and the agencies. The West Newton, being the swiftest boat, passed the Clarion at

Henderson, and the Tiger near the Big Cottonwood, and thence to the site of the new fort at the mouth of Rock creek, was the first steamer to disturb the waters of our sky-tinted river.

The Minnesota this year remained navigable all summer, and a number of boats ascended it to Fort Ridgely and the Lower Sioux Agency, while others went to Mankato and other points. The passenger travel, as well as the freight trade, was excellent. On two successive trips in July, the little Clarion carried 150 passengers at a time, and other boats were equally crowded. In September two St. Paul gentlemen, C. D. Fillmore and William Constans, bought each a small boat for the Minnesota trade. Mr. Fillmore's boat, the Humboldt, started on her first trip on the 13th of that month; and on the 24th followed Mr. Constans' boat, the Iola.

In all there were forty-nine boat arrivals in 1853 from the Minnesota river at the St. Paul wharf. The names of the boats, and the number of trips made by each, so far as known, were as follows: Greek Slave, 4 trips; Clarion, 16; Tiger, 13; Black Hawk, 8; West Newton, 1; Shenandoah, 3; Humboldt, 2; Iola, 2. The Greek Slave opened the season on the 4th of April, and the Iola closed it on the 2nd of November.

The winter of 1853-4 was mild and open and the river broke up early, but without the usual freshet, for there had been but little snow. The Greek Slave was the first boat on the Minnesota again in 1854, and her first trip was an excursion to Shakopee on the 21st of March. The Humboldt followed her in a day or two, and during March and April made about a dozen trips. but owing to low water did not get above the rapids more than once or twice. The Greek Slave only attempted one trip up the Minnesota, this being in April.

The success of the prior season had awakened in the boatmen great expectations for this year, and much preparation for it was made during the winter, but all was doomed to disappointment. Captain Samuel Humbertson, who the year before had been the most active in the trade, and who had started above the mouth of the Blue Earth the townsite of South Bend, which he hoped would become the chief city of the valley, during the winter sold his little Clarion, and built for himself at Belle Vernon, Pa., on the Monongahela river, a fine new boat 170 feet

long, with thirty-eight well furnished state rooms. He christened her the Minnesota Belle, and, loading her full with immigrants, intended mostly for his new town, on May 3rd started up the Minnesota. To the captain's great chagrin, his new boat failed to climb the Little rapids, near Carver, and he abandoned the river, townsite and all, in disgust.

A rainfall a few days later, however, swelled the river sufficiently for the Black Hawk to reach Traverse des Sioux on the 20th day of May. For some time, and until after July 20th, the Iola and the Montello ran with fair regularity between the Little rapids and Traverse, supplementing the Black Hawk, Humboldt, and other boats, plying below the rapids.

Large keel boats, denominated barges, propelled after the ancient method by a crew of men with poles, became common on the river this year. Andrew G. Myrick placed two of these barges on the river in charge of the Russell boys. These vessels were from 50 to 60 feet long, 10 to 12 feet wide, and with sides four to five feet high, along the top of which was fastened a plank walk, for the use of the pole men. A small low cabin for the cook was built in the stern, and during foul weather a big tarpaulin was spread over the goods. A full crew consisted of a captain, who also acted as steersman, ten to a dozen pole men, and a cook. With a fair stage of water the usual speed up stream was twelve to fourteen miles a day, but if sandbars or rapids interfered a mile or two would be a hard day's journey. Down stream, however, they would travel much faster. Most of the supplies for Fort Ridgely and the Sioux Agencies, as well as for all up river towns, had to be transported this year in such barges.

The total steamboat arrivals from the Minnesota at St. Paul in 1854 did not exceed thirty, and few of them came from beyond the Little rapids. This, however, does not include trips by the Montello and the Iola between the rapids and points above.

The snowfall in the winter of 1854-5 was again rather meager, and consequently the river continued low during the spring of 1855, though not as low as the prior season. The Globe, a new boat belonging to Louis Robert, with Nelson Robert as captain, was the first steamer, leaving St. Paul on the 8th of April. The Black Hawk, the J. B. Gordon, No. 2, the H. S.

Allen, and the Montello, with the barges Russell and Master, promptly joined in the trade. A fair business was done in April, but during the midsummer months navigation was mostly suspended, because of low water. The fall rains caused quite a freshet, and there was a brisk trade again for a month or two, continuing as late as the middle of November. The Time and Tide, Berlin, Equator, and Reveille, had now joined with the other boats in the Minnesota river trade.

Louis Robert, having the contract this year to deliver the Sioux annuities, took them up to the Agency late in October in the Globe, of which Edwin Bell was then captain. Within two miles of the landing the boat struck on a rock, and the goods had to be unloaded on the river bank. While Captains Robert and Bell were gone to carry the Indian money, amounting to $90,000 in gold, to Fort Ridgely, the Indians, who were gathered in force to divide the provisions, carelessly set fire to the dry grass, which was quickly communicated to the pile of goods, and most of them, including fifty kegs of powder, were destroyed.

The names of boats engaged in the Minnesota river trade during this year 1855, and the number of trips taken by each from St. Paul, were as follows: Globe, 14 trips; Black Hawk, 13; Berlin, 13; Time and Tide, 8; H. S. Allen, 22; J. B. Gordon, No. 2, 28; Equator, 6; Reveille, 3; Montello, 1; and Shenandoah, 1. The total of the trips definitely recorded is thus 109. The Humboldt also ran on this river in the years 1854 to 1856. The first to enter had been the Globe on April 8th, and she was the last to leave on the 16th of November.

An event of 1855 which tended to stimulate the commerce of the Minnesota for some years, was the removal of over 2,000 Winnebagoes from the upper Mississippi to a reservation near Mankato.

A good fall of snow during the winter of 1855-6 caused an abundant supply of water in the river next spring. The navigation of the Minnesota for the season of 1856 was opened on April 10th by the Reveille, a stern-wheel packet, in command of Captain R. M. Spencer. Four days later, the Globe, with Nelson Robert as captain, departed from St. Paul for the same river, and she was followed the next day by the H. S. Allen.

The Reveille was considered a fast traveler, and as an instance of her speed it is recorded that on her second trip of this year she left St. Paul at 2 p. m. on Thursday, April 17th, with 132 passengers and a full load of freight, and arrived at Mankato by Saturday; and that leaving the latter place at 5 a. m. the next day, she reached St. Paul by 8 p. m. that evening, after having made twenty-four landings on the way.

On the 5th of May, the Reveille landed at Mankato a company of settlers numbering two or three hundred, known as the Mapleton Colony; and the following Saturday (May 10th) the H. T. Yeatman landed at South Bend a company of Welsh settlers from Ohio, numbering 121 souls. The Yeatman was a large stern-wheel boat, about the largest that ascended the Minnesota, and this was her first trip. She continued in the trade only a few weeks, while the water was high. Her captain was Samuel G. Cabbell. Regular trips were made this year by several boats to Fort Ridgely and the Lower Sioux Agency, and some ascended to the Upper Agency, at the mouth of the Yellow Medicine river.

The time table of Louis Robert's fine packet, the Time and Tide, issued for this season, shows the distance from St. Paul to Yellow Medicine to be 446 miles. To an old settler, who actually traveled on a Minnesota river steamboat in those early days, the idea of a time table may seem rather amusing; for if there was anything more uncertain as to its coming and going, or more void of any idea of regularity, than a steamboat, the old time traveler never heard of it. Now stopping in some forest glen for wood, now tangled in the overhanging boughs of a tree with one or both smoke-stacks demolished, now fast for hours on some sandbar, and now tied up to a tree to repair the damage done by some snag, while the passengers sat on the bank telling stories, or went hunting, or feasted on the luscious wild strawberries or juicy plums which grew abundantly in the valley, were common occurrences in steamboat travel. Many a pioneer remembers the Time and Tide, and how its jolly captain, Louis Robert, would sing out with sonorous voice, when the boat was about to start, "All aboard! Time and Tide waits for no man," and then add, with a sly twinkle in his eye, "and only a few min-

utes for a woman." Though we of today may think such method of travel tedious, yet it had many pleasant features, and to the people of that time, unaccustomed to the "flyers" and "fast mails" of today, it seemed quite satisfactory.

The names of the boats which left the St. Paul wharf in 1856 for the Minnesota river, and the number of trips taken by each, were as follows: Equator, 46 trips; Reveille, 40; Globe, 34; Wave, 29; Minnesota, 20; Clarion, 12; Time and Tide, 12; Berlin, 10; and H. T. Yeatman, 4. The total trips so recorded are 207, being an increase of nearly a hundred over the preceding year. The steamboats H. S. Allen and Humboldt were also on the Mississippi river this year.

The season of 1857 opened auspiciously with a good stage of water in the Minnesota. The Equator, a well built packet of fair size in charge of Captain Sencerbox, was the first boat. She left St. Paul for Mankato on the morning of April 12th with a full load of passengers and freight. She was followed the next day by the Clarion, which had been bought the year before by Captain O. D. Keep and brought back to the Minnesota, where she had done such good service in 1853 under Captain Humbertson. Captain Keep and his clerk, John C. Hoffman, resided in the vicinity of Shakopee, and they kept the Clarion in the Minnesota trade until she sank near the St. Paul levee two or three years later.

Two fine new boats, destined to do much service on the Minnesota, entered this year. They were the Frank Steele, a splendid side-wheel packet owned by Commodore Davidson, and the Jeannette Roberts, a large stern-wheel packet owned by Captain Louis Robert. The Antelope, a small craft which Captain Houghton ran regularly for years between St. Paul and Chaska, began her career this season. Other important boats which engaged in the Minnesota trade this year for the first time were the Medora, J. Bissell, Isaac Shelby, Fire Canoe, and Red Wing, all good sized packets, especially the last two.

During the spring of this year steamboating on the Minnesota was unusually brisk. Eighteen boats arrived at St. Peter during a single week in May, and by June 1st thirty-four boats had passed that town for points above. It was no unusual occur-

rence to see two or three boats unloading at once at the Mankato wharf.

The names of the boats which left the St. Paul wharf this year 1857 for the Minnesota, and the number of trips made by each, were as follows: Antelope, 105 trips; Jeannette Roberts, 40; Isaac Shelby, 36; Medora, 29; Frank Steele, 20; Equator, 14; Time and Tide, 13; Clarion, 12; Minnesota, 8; Ocean Wave, 6; J. Bissell, 5; Red Wing, 3; and Fire Canoe, 1. The total trips were 292, an increase of 85 from the year before. The last boat was the Antelope which arrived at St. Paul on the 14th of November.

The winter of 1857-8 proved very mild, and the river broke up unusually early. The first boat to leave St. Paul for the Minnesota was the Jeannette Roberts, Captain Thimens, on March 20th, but the Medora, Captain Charles T. Hinde, following in a short time, passed her before reaching Shakopee. In doing so, the boats rubbed too close together, and one of the Medora's wheels was injured, so that she had to tie up an hour or two for repairs. She managed again to overtake and pass the Jeannette while the latter was unloading at Traverse des Sioux, and reached Mankato as the first boat on the morning of March 22nd, followed there an hour or two later by the Jeannette.

Notwithstanding that there had been hardly any snow the previous winter, the heavy spring and summer rains kept the river in a good navigable condition, and boats of the size of the Frank Steele and Isaac Shelby were able to ascend to Mankato late into September. The Freighter was the only new boat to engage in the Minnesota trade.

This spring J. R. Cleveland and C. F. Butterfield built a barge at Mankato 75 feet long by 12 feet wide and 4 feet high, which they christined "The Minneopa." It was employed by Mr. Cleveland during the period of low water for many years in the Mankato traffic. It was operated in the old way, by a poling crew, and it usually took two weeks to make the trip to St. Paul and back to Mankato.

There were 179 steamboat arrivals at Mankato this year, counting those arriving from points above as well as from below; the former, though, did not exceed 25 or 30.

The list of the boats engaged in the Minnesota trade this year, 1858, and the number of trips made by each, as shown by the St. Paul wharfmaster's book, are as follows: Antelope, 201 trips; Frank Steele, 54; Jeannette Roberts, 35; Time and Tide, 30; Freighter, 18; Isaac Shelby, 16; Ocean Wave, 12; Clarion, 11; Medora, 8; Fire Canoe, 6; and Minnesota, 3. The total recorded trips were thus 394, an increase of 102 over the year before. The steamboats Belfast and Equator and the barge Minneopa also plied on the river this year, but the number of their trips cannot be given.

In 1859, the river broke up early after a mild winter, and the Freighter arrived at Mankato, the first boat, on March 27th, having left St. Paul two days before. An abundant rainfall kept the river in good navigable condition its entire length through most of the season. The Favorite, an excellent side-wheel packet of good size, built expressly for the Minnesota trade by Commodore Davidson, entered as a new boat this spring.

As the water was quite high in the upper Minnesota, Captain John B. Davis of the Freighter conceived the idea of crossing his boat over from the Minnesota to Big Stone lake and thence to the Red river, and accordingly about the last of June he attempted the feat. Whether the crew found too much whiskey at New Ulm or the boat found too little water on the divide, authorities differ, but all agree that the captain and his crew came home in a canoe about the last of July, passing Mankato on the 25th of the month, having left his steamboat in dry dock near the Dakota line. The Freighter was a small, flat-bottomed, square-bowed boat. The Indians pillaged her of everything but the hull, and that, half buried in the sand about ten miles below Big Stone lake, remained visible for twenty or thirty years. The captain always claimed that if he had started a month earlier his attempt would have been successful.

The steamboat arrivals at Mankato this year were in total 131, as follows:

	From St. Paul	From the West
Favorite	44	4
Jeannette Roberts	31	8
Frank Steele	19	11
Freighter	2	1
Ocean Wave	2	2

Time and Tide.....	2	1
Isaac Shelby	1	1
Belfast	1	1
Total	102	29

The total arrivals from the Minnesota at the St. Paul wharf were 300, which included some boats, like the Antelope, which did not come to Mankato at all. Navigation continued this year until quite late, the last boat to pass down over the Little rapids being the Jeannette Roberts on the 6th of November.

In 1860, the Minnesota again broke up quite early and the first boat, the Time and Tide, left St. Paul March 19th, reaching St. Peter on March 21st, and Mankato the next morning. The river was quite low this spring and none of the larger boats were able to ascend it. A number of small boats of light draft were, however, put into the trade instead, such as the Little Dorrit, the Eolian, which Captain Davidson had succeeded in raising the fall before from the bottom of lake Pepin where she had lain since the spring of 1858, and the Albany, a small new boat of very light draft which Captain Davidson had built the winter before expressly for the Minnesota in low water. The Jeannette Roberts managed to get up as far as Mankato a few times, and once in July, when there was a small freshet, even to the Sioux Agency. After a little rainfall in June, the Time and Tide, the Favorite, and the Frank Steele, came up as far as St. Peter for a trip or two. Most of the time, however, the Albany, which the old settlers used to say only required a light dew to run in, was the only boat which could float at all above the Little rapids. For a time she supplemented the Favorite at the rapids, but finally the water got so low that navigation suspended entirely, except that the little Antelope kept her trips to Shakopee and Chaska. Cleveland's barges (for now he had two of them) had the monopoly of the Minnesota river traffic for the most of the season. They could carry ten or twelve tons each, and were kept busy until the river closed in November. There were only 250 steamboat arrivals at St. Paul from the Minnesota this year, and the Antelope made 198 of these.

The spring of 1861 opened with a big flood in the Minnesota. The first boat, the Albany, left St. Paul on March 30th, and arrived at Mankato the 1st of April. She was officered by

J. V. Webber, captain (who was now the owner, having purchased her from the Davidson company in March), Warren Goulden, first clerk, and Moses Gates, engineer. It was claimed by the older Indians and traders that the upper Minnesota was higher this spring than it had been since 1821. In April the Jeannette Roberts ascended farther up the river by two miles than any steamboat had ever done before, and might easily have accomplished what the Freighter attempted and failed to do in 1859, to wit, pass over into the Red river, if she had tried; for the two rivers were united by their high flood between lakes Big Stone and Traverse.

This season the Minnesota Packet Company, of which Captain Orren Smith was president, put two first class boats, the City Belle and Fanny Harris, into the river to compete with the Davidson and Robert lines. The Fanny Harris, on her first trip, which occurred during the second week in April, went to Fort Ridgely, and brought down Major (afterwards General) Thomas W. Sherman and his battery to quell the southern rebellion, which had just started. With her also went the Favorite and brought down Major (afterwards General) John C. Pemberton, with his command of eighty soldiers, the most of whom, being southern men, were much in sympathy with their seceding brethren.

The City Belle made her first appearance at St. Peter and Mankato on May 18th, under command of Captain A. T. Chamblin. She was a fine side-wheel packet, and about the largest boat that ever entered the Minnesota trade. The river, though high in the spring, did not continue so very long, and by the last of June became so low that navigation above the rapids had to be suspended.

The arrivals at St. Peter and Mankato from below numbered 66, as follows: Albany, 22 trips; Favorite, 18; City Belle, 10; Jeannette Roberts, 9; Eolian, 4; Frank Steele, 2; and Fanny Harris, 1.

Boats below the rapids, however, continued to run the most of the season, and the total arrivals at St. Paul from the Minnesota were 318.

The barges of Captain Cleveland were kept busy in the traffic between Mankato and points below. The first shipment of wheat in bulk from the Minnesota was made in June of this

year, 1861, on one of these barges. It comprised 4,000 bushels, and was taken direct to La Crosse. Heretofore it had been shipped in sacks. Wheat had now become the principal export of the valley. During the earlier years nearly all the freight traffic on the river had been imported, but by this time the export of grains had grown to be an important item. With so many Indians in the valley the shipment of furs, which at first had been about the only export of the country, still continued valuable; but furs, because of their small bulk, cut but little figure in the boating business. This year the value of the furs from the Sioux Agencies was $48,416; and from the Winnebago country, $11,600.

The spring of 1862 witnessed another great flood in the Minnesota, and navigation was opened by the Albany. She only got as far as St. Peter on her first voyage, arriving there on April 3rd, and reaching Mankato on her second trip on the 13th. The Pomeroy, an excellent new boat, was put into the trade this spring by the Davidson company. Two small boats, the Clara Hines and G. H. Wilson, entered the Minnesota also for the first time this spring. Messrs. Stagg and Handy of St. Paul put a small boat called "New Ulm Belle," which they built with the machinery of the Clarion, also into the Minnesota traffic, in charge of Captain Scott. The Favorite, officered by Edwin Bell, captain, and N. B. Hatcher, clerk, and the Jeannette Roberts, officered by Nelson Robert, captain, and Jack Reaney, clerk, were active in the trade this year as usual.

The register of boat arrivals at Mankato for the year shows a total of 70, as follows:

	From below	From above
Albany	19	1
Jeannette Roberts	13	8
Favorite	9	1
Clara Hines	8	1
Pomeroy	6	1
Ariel	2	
G. H. Wilson	1	
Total	58	12

The length of the period of navigation, from April 13th to July 20th, was three months and seven days. Wheat shipped

from Mankato on these boats amounted to 62,000 bushels, and 8,000 bushels were shipped from South Bend.

Below the rapids, navigation continued until late in November, and the total arrivals at the St. Paul wharf from the Minnesota were 413, the largest record in the river's history. The fall navigation may have been slightly stimulated by the requirements of the Sioux war. Immediately on news of the outbreak, the Favorite, under Captain Bell, carried the first soldiers of General Sibley's command, with such arms and ammunition as could be hastily gathered at Fort Snelling and St. Paul, to the defense of the frontier, taking them to Shakopee and one company as far as the Little rapids.

The Jeanette Roberts was the first boat in 1863. She arrived in Mankato on April 3rd, and was there greeted by the entire population of the town, including about 1,000 soldiers, who made the echoes ring with their cheers. It was customary in those steamboat days for young and old, male and female, in every town along the river, at the deep baying sound of the first whistle to gather at the levee to welcome the first boat. To the lonely pioneer, the vigils of a long winter in the wilderness were trying, and the arrival of the first boat was an important event in his life, when he heard from his childhood home and the outside world, and when his exhausted larder would be replenished and a few relishes would relieve the monotonous round of corn cake.

Much of the traffic this year consisted in transporting troops and supplies in connection with the Sioux war. The Favorite, the winter before, had been lengthened by cutting her in two and inserting a piece thirty feet long into the middle, just ahead of the machinery and wheels. This materially increased the boat's capacity, but rather spoiled her appearance. She was taken entirely into the Government service this season, and one of her first duties was the transportation of the 270 condemned Sioux from their Mankato prison to their new quarters at Davenport, Iowa. They left Mankato on April 22nd, and the forty-eight acquitted Indians with fifteen or twenty squaws, who had been acting as cooks, went with them.

During the winter, under the religious instruction of the missionaries, Williamson, Riggs, and Pond, a wonderful transformation had occurred in these wild savages of a few months

before,—a transformation that proved sincere and lasting,—and as they sailed down the river, they sang religious hymns in their native tongue. Affecting, indeed, was the scene, as in passing Fort Snelling and St. Paul, where their squaws and papooses were imprisoned, they sang their favorite hymn, "Have Mercy upon us, O Jehovah," to the tune of Old Hundred.

In May the Winnebagoes were to be removed from Blue Earth county to their new agency in Nebraska, and on the evening of the 8th of this month the Pomeroy and Eolian arrived at Mankato to take part in the transportation of this tribe. Eleven hundred of them had already pitched their tepees in what was called Camp Porter, on the river bank just back of where now stands the Hubbard and Palmer mill in Mankato. A few days before, a party of them had killed two Sioux who were visiting their agency, and, stretching their scalps on a couple of hoops decked with colored ribbons and fastened to poles, they paraded the streets with them. On this night of May 8th, from sundown to sunrise, the people of Mankato were regaled with the tom-tom music and savage yells of the scalp dance. On Saturday, May 9th, they began to embark, 405 going on the Pomeroy, and 355 on the Eolian. Both boats started from the Mankato wharf at two o'clock in the afternoon. Conspicuous on the Pomeroy's hurricane deck were planted the poles bearing the two Sioux scalps, around which sat, first, the war party of about twenty young bucks, half naked, their bodies daubed with mud and paint, and with wreaths of green weeds and grass on their heads, and next to them squatted a number of other warriors, all chanting in time with two or three tom-toms a monotonous "He-ah, he-ah," as they journeyed down the river,—a scene quite in contrast with that presented by their Sioux brethren on their departure two weeks before. The next day, the Favorite took 338 of the remaining Winnebagoes, and on the 14th the Pomeroy came after the last of them. In all there were 1,856 removed.

Besides the traffic incident to military operations, there were shipped from Mankato alone over 60,000 bushels of wheat this spring. The Prairie du Chien Railway Company put a new boat, named the Flora, into the Minnesota river trade this season. She was a stern-wheeler of about the size of the Jeannette Roberts.

The summer of 1863 was exceptionally dry, and though boats were able in May to ascend to Camp Pope, twenty-five miles above Fort Ridgely, by the middle of June the river had fallen so that all steamboat traffic above the rapids was suspended.

The imperative need of freight transportation in the valley became yearly more insistent, and the inability of steamboats to meet the demand, especially in periods of drouth, caused a great increase this summer in the use of barges, amounting to a new departure in the river traffic. Hereafter, instead of carrying freight in large steamers, it was found much more expedient to carry it in strings of barges drawn by small tug-boats. Among others, Messrs. Temple and Beaupre of St. Paul put four barges into the Minnesota traffic to ship freight from Mankato and points between it and the Little rapids to Prairie du Chien. The total steamboat arrivals from the Minnesota this year at the St. Paul wharf were 177.

During the winter of 1863-4 the Davidson Company built a fine new packet, about 150 feet long, for the Minnesota river trade, which, in honor of the thriving town of the mouth of the Blue Earth, they christened "The Mankato." The citizens of that municipality, in appreciation of the compliment, purchased a fine silk flag to present to the boat on her first arrival; but unfortunately that opportunity did not come until a year later, for during 1864 about the only boat which reached Mankato was the Jeannette Roberts on April 16th.

The barge traffic flourished, however, in spite of the low water, and steamboats were used on the lower Minnesota. The total arrivals of steamboats at St. Paul from the Minnesota this year were 166; and of barges, 82.

In January, 1865, the state legislature appropriated $3,000 to improve the Minnesota river; and Major E. P. Evans, of Blue Earth county, and John Webber, of Ottawa, Le Sueur county, were appointed commissioners to oversee the work. Accordingly in February Major Evans with a force of fifty men cleared the river of snags, and later they made other improvements, which aided navigation considerably.

By the spring of 1865 the severe drouth of the last two years was broken. The first boat to leave St. Paul for the Minnesota

was the Ariel on the second of April. She arrived at St. Peter on the 3rd, and at Mankato on the 4th.

Among the new boats to enter the Minnesota this year were the Mollie Mohler, Julia, G. H. Gray, Otter, Mankato, Lansing, General Sheridan, and Hudson. The Mollie Mohler had been built the winter before for the Minnesota river trade; she was 125 feet long, and had accommodations for fifty-six cabin passengers. Her captain was George Houghton. The Julia was a stern-wheel boat, built the same winter by the Northwestern Packet Company expressly for the Minnesota trade. Her length was 141 feet, her beam 28 feet, and her total capacity 300 tons, although drawing only seventeen inches of water. Jack Reaney, for years the popular clerk of the Jeannette Roberts, was her captain. The G. H. Gray was built in the spring of 1863 on the St. Croix. She was 139 feet long, 19 feet wide, and drew fourteen inches of water.

The trade this year was quite brisk as long as the season lasted. The boats were able to reach St. Peter and Mankato for about two months in the spring, and by reshipping at the Little rapids were able to get to the rapids just below St. Peter for two or three weeks later.

During the season, the number of steamboat arrivals at St. Paul from Carver and the Little rapids was 150; and from points above the rapids as far as from Mankato, 40. A few trips were also made to the upper Minnesota. The total arrivals from this river at St. Paul in 1865 was 195. This of course does not embrace trips made by the Albany and other boats between the rapids and points above. Twenty barges, each loaded with 200 barrels of lime from Shakopee, and 97 barges loaded with wood, averaging 40 cords each, from various points in the valley, also arrived at the St. Paul wharf. No records of the wheat barges were kept, as they generally carried their cargoes to La Crosse or Prairie du Chien, but they were quite numerous.

In 1866 the first boat to arrive at St. Peter and Mankato was the Chippewa Falls, on the 15th of April. The Minnesota, a splendid packet built the winter before at Cincinnati, entered for the first time this season. The principal boats engaged this year in the traffic were the Julia, Mankato, Mollie Mohler, Stella

Whipple, Albany, Otter, Pioneer, Tiber, and Pearl. By the 16th of June there had been 38 arrivals at Mankato, which number during the season was swelled to 50, having a total capacity of 3,750 tons.

The barge trade by this year had grown to immense proportions, over 175 barges being used. The Tiber towed out of the Minnesota and down the Mississippi at one load a string of barges carrying 30,000 bushels of wheat. Some of the barges were of great size. Among the largest was one owned by Captain Davidson, called "Little Mac," which was 142 feet long by 25 feet in width, of 114 tons burden.

The wheat shipments from the principal points in the Minnesota valley during 1866 amounted to 688,641 bushels, as follows: From Belle Plaine, 45,000 bushels; Faxon, 12,600; Henderson, 29,400; Le Sueur, 22,000; Ottawa, 5,000; St. Peter, 68,850; Mankato, 190,000; South Bend, 25,000; Shakopee, 106,-791; Carver, 80,000; and Chaska, 104,000.

The navigation this year, however, was quite poor, owing to low water through most of the season. A United States survey of the river was made during the summer with a view to improving it.

The arrivals at the St. Paul wharf from the Minnesota in 1866 were only about 100. The decrease was probably due to two causes, first the construction to Belle Plaine of the St. Paul and Sioux City railroad, which cut off most of the boat traffic on the lower and most navigable portion of the river; and, second, that most of the freight was now being carried in barges, which, having no occasion to stop in St. Paul, passed down the Mississippi without being registered in the St. Paul wharfmaster's books.

The year 1867 was exceptionally good for boating, as a fine stage of water continued during the entire season. The first boat to land at Mankato was the Chippewa Falls on the 18th of April.

During the summer and until the first of September, the Mollie Mohler, Captain H. W. Holmes, made daily trips between Mankato and Belle Plaine, a distance of 175 miles, making close connections at the latter place with the St. Paul trains. She would leave Mankato every morning at 8 o'clock and arrive at Belle Plaine about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and then leave

Belle Plaine on her return journey at 6 o'clock p. m. and reach Mankato by sunrise. As indicative of her speed, she would at times make the trip from Mankato to St. Peter, a distance of 30 miles, in one hour and twenty minutes; and as evidence of the abundant water in the rivers this season, the Mollie on the 9th of June ascended the Blue Earth and Le Sueur rivers to the Red Jacket mills, situated about where now the Milwaukee railway crosses the latter stream, and carried hence 425 barrels of flour. Up to September, when the Mollie Mohler retired, there had been 166 steamboat arrivals at Mankato, of which the Mollie had made 87.

After this the Otter ran quite regularly until the 30th of October, making two or three trips a week, and the Ellen Hardy and Mankato made a few trips, while the Ariel made regular trips between Mankato and St. Peter and the railroad terminus, until the river closed about the 10th of November.

Congress had made an appropriation of $7,000 this year towards the improvement of the river, and in July bids were received by Gen. G. K. Warren, government engineer, on two proposed contracts for such improvement, one covering the first section, reaching from the Redwood to Mankato, and the other for the second section, extending from Mankato to the Little rapids. Not much came of this river improvement project, and it was soon abandoned, as the advent of railroads into the valley rendered it unnecessary.

The principal river casualty of 1867 was the sinking of the Julia two miles below Mankato on the morning of the 10th of May. She struck a snag as she was coming up the river, under a full head of steam, well loaded with passengers and freight, and sank in twelve feet of water. None of the passengers were injured, and nearly all the freight was recovered, but the boat itself was a wreck. Her machinery and upper deck were eventually removed, but the hull lies in the sands of the Minnesota to this day.

In 1868, the Chippewa Falls was again the first boat at St. Peter and Mankato, arriving at the latter place on the 31st of March. Navigation was not nearly as good this year as the year before, yet by the first of May there had been over 50 steamboat arrivals at Mankato. No new boat, as far as known, entered the river this year; and quite a few of the boats prominent

in the trade the prior season had disappeared, among them the well known Mollie Mohler and Jeannette Roberts. Most of the trade was confined to points above the terminus of the railroad, which by October had reached Mankato, the first passenger coach on the St. Paul and Sioux City road arriving there on the 6th of that month.

The first boat to reach Mankato in 1869 was the Ellen Hardy on the 18th of April. The Otter, St. Anthony Falls, Pioneer, Tiger, and our old friend, the Jeannette Roberts, were engaged in the Minnesota trade this season, besides the Ellen Hardy. The business men of New Ulm this spring, seeing no immediate prospect of a railroad for their town, bought the little steamer Otter for $3,000, and put her into the trade between New Ulm and Mankato, where she made regular trips twice to three times a week. Her average load of freight used to be 3,000 bushels of wheat. A number of trips were made to Redwood. The navigation continued until rather late. On November 3rd, there were three boats unloading at once at the Mankato levee: the Pioneer, Otter, and Tiger.

The first boat to reach Mankato in 1870 was the Otter from New Ulm, on April 5th; and the Mankato on April 13th was the first boat to arrive from St. Paul. During the early spring there was quite a brisk trade; and the smaller boats, like the Tiger and Otter, continued to run even through July and August. The arrivals at Mankato in April and May alone numbered 43; and the total arrivals for the season were about 80. The Mankato brought down from New Ulm on the 2d of May 17,000 bushels of wheat on one load, and two days later the Dexter brought down in two barges 21,000 bushels. The Otter and Tiger plied mostly between Mankato and New Ulm; while the Mankato, Dexter, and St. Anthony Falls, made frequent trips to St. Paul. As an instance of the speed of the Tiger, it is stated that on May 14th she made the run from Redwood Falls to Mankato in thirteen and a half hours. In the spring of this year the Jeannette Roberts, one of the best known and longest in service of all the Minnesota steamboats, was sold to go to the Wisconsin river trade.

In 1871 the Otter was the first boat again at Mankato, arriving on April 4th from New Ulm. On April 15th came the Pioneer, the first boat from St. Paul. On April 18th, as the

Mankato was approaching St. Peter on her first trip of the season, she struck a snag a few rods below the present wagon bridge in that city and sank. Her passengers and crew received no harm. After lying in the river channel for over a year, she was finally raised and taken below, never to enter the Minnesota again. The Otter, Pioneer, and Hudson, were busily employed during April and May (which was as long as navigation this year lasted) in carrying wheat and other freight from New Ulm and Redwood to South Bend, where it was transferred to the railroad. It is said of the Otter, that on May 11th of this year she made the run from West Newton to South Bend, a distance of 110 miles, in less than seven hours running time, being the quickest time the journey was ever made by any boat. She brought with her two barges loaded with 2,000 bushels of wheat.

With this season ends practically the navigation of the Minnesota river, for the Northwestern railway reached New Ulm this year.

THE LAST STEAMBOATS, 1872 TO 1897.

The Osceola, Captain Haycock, a small boat, ascended the river as far as Redwood once in the spring of 1872, twice in the spring of 1873, and once in the spring of 1874. The water, however, was quite low each season and navigation difficult. In 1876, on the high water of the spring, the Ida Fulton and Wyman X. came up this river; and ten years later, in 1886, one trip was made by the Alvira. Again for ten years no steamboat was seen on the Minnesota, until, taking advantage of a freshet in April, 1897, Captain E. W. Durant of Stillwater ran his boat, the Henrietta, a stern-wheel vessel 170 feet long, with forty state rooms, on an excursion to Henderson, St. Peter, and Mankato.

With the advent of civilization, the surface of the country has been exposed by cultivation so that much of the moisture which in the olden days drained into the creeks and rivers now evaporates, causing all of our streams to shrink to half their former size. Thus it has come to pass that he who sees the Minnesota of today wonders that it was ever a navigable stream. But the old settler who remembers the river in its prime, when it carried on its swelling bosom the commerce of its great valley, can see in the dim vistas of the past a different scene; and many

a tale of thrilling interest can he tell of those bygone days, when our sky-tinted river was navigable.

LISTS OF STEAMBOATS, 1850 TO 1897.

The following are lists of the steamboats on the Minnesota river for each year, with the names of their captains when known, as compiled from the records of wharfmasters and from newspaper files. The totals of steamboat arrivals at the St. Paul wharf from the Minnesota river are also noted for each year.

1850. Anthony Wayne, Capt. Dan Able; Nominee, Capt. Orren Smith; Yankee, Capt. M. K. Harris. Total arrivals, 4.

1851. Benjamin Franklin, No. 1, Capt. M. W. Lodwick; Excelsior, Capt. James Ward; Uncle Toby. Total arrivals, 3.

1852. Black Hawk, Capt. W. P. Hall; Enterprise; Jenny Lind; Tiger, Capt. O. H. Maxwell. Total arrivals, 13.

1853. Black Hawk; Clarion, Capt. Samuel Humbertson; Greek Slave, Capt. Louis Robert; Humboldt; Iola; Shenandoah; Tiger, Capt. Barton; West Newton, Capt. D. S. Harris. Total arrivals, 49.

1854. Black Hawk, Capt. W. P. Hall; Globe, Capt. Haycock; Greek Slave, Capt. Louis Robert; Humboldt; Iola, Capt. William H. Sargent; Minnesota Belle, Capt. Samuel Humbertson; Montello; War Eagle. Total arrivals, 30.

1855. Berlin; Black Hawk, Capt. O. H. Maxwell; Equator, Capt. Maxwell; Globe, Captains Louis Robert and Edwin Bell; H. S. Allen, Capt. G. W. Farman; Humboldt; J. B. Gordon, No. 2, Capt. Maxwell; Montello; Reveille; Shenandoah; Time and Tide. Total arrivals, 109.

1856. Berlin; Clarion, Capt. O. D. Keep; Equator, Capt. O. H. Maxwell; Globe, Capt. Nelson Robert; H. S. Allen, Capt. George D. Martin; H. T. Yeatman, Capt. Samuel G. Cabbell; Humboldt; Minnesota; Reveille, Capt. R. M. Spencer; Time and Tide, Capt. Louis Robert; Wave. Total arrivals, 207.

1857. Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Clarion, Capt. John C. Hoffman; Equator, Captains Marvin and Sencerbox; Fire Canoe; Frank Steele, Capt. Davidson; Isaac Shelby, Capt. Bishop; J. Bissell, Capt. Marvin; Jeannette Roberts, Captains Thimens and Simmons; Medora, Captains Charles T. Hinde and McLagan; Minnesota, Capt. Sencerbox; Ocean Wave; Red Wing; Time and Tide, Capt. Louis Robert. Total arrivals, 292.

1858. Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Belfast; Clarion; Equator; Fire Canoe; Frank Steele, Capt. William F. Davidson; Freighter, Capt. John B. Davis; Isaac Shelby, Capt. Bishop; Jeannette Roberts, Capt. Thimens; Medora, Capt. Charles T. Hinde; Minneopa (barge), Capt. J. R. Cleveland; Minnesota; Ocean Wave; Time and Tide, Capt. Nelson Robert. Total arrivals, 394.

1859. Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Belfast; Eolian; Favorite, Captains Edwin Bell and Peyton S. Davidson; Frank Steele, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Freighter, and Isaac Shelby, Capt. John B. Davis; Jeannette Roberts, Capt. L. Robert; Minneopa (barge), Capt. J. R. Cleveland; Ocean Wave; Time and Tide, Capt. N. Robert. Total arrivals, 300.

1860. Albany, Capt. John V. Webber; Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Eolian, Capt. Thimens; Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Frank Steele, Capt. N. B. Hatcher; Jeannette Roberts, Captains N. Robert and F. Aymond; Little Dorrit; Minneopa (barge), Capt. Cleveland; Time and Tide, Capt. N. Robert; Victor (barge). Total arrivals, 250.

1861. Albany, Capt. Webber; Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Ariel, Capt. James Houghton; City Belle, Capt. A. T. Chamblin; Clara Hines; Eolian; Fanny Harris; Favorite, Capt. P. S. Davidson; Frank Steele; Jeannette Roberts; Victor (barge). Total arrivals, 318.

1862. Albany, Capt. Webber; Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Ariel, Capt. James Houghton; Clara Hines; Favorite, Capt. Edwin Bell; G. H. Wilson; Jeannette Roberts, Capt. N. Robert; New Ulm Belle, Capt. Scott; Pomeroy. Total arrivals, 413.

1863. Albany, Capt. Webber; Antelope, Capt. George Houghton; Ariel, Capt. James Houghton; Eolian; Favorite; Flora; G. H. Gray; Jeannette Roberts, Capt. N. Roberts; Pomeroy; Stella Whipple. Total arrivals, 177.

1864. Albany, Capt. Jones; Ariel, Capt. James Houghton; Express; Firesides, Capt. Joseph Hopkins; Henderson (barge), Capt. Frank Aymond; Jeannette Roberts; Mollie Mohler, Capt. George Houghton; Monitor; St. Cloud, Capt. James Houghton; Stella Whipple, Capt. J. V. Webber; Turtle. Total arrivals, 166.

1865. Addie Johnson; Albany, Capt. A. R. Russell; Annie Johnson; Ariel, Capt. H. W. Holmes; Chippewa Falls; Clara Hines, Capt. Spear Spencer; Enterprise, Capt. Merrill; G. H. Gray, Capt. Isaac Gray; G. H. Weeks; G. H. Wilson; General Sheridan; Julia, Capt. John H. Reaney; Hudson; Lansing; Mankato, Capt. J. V. Webber; Mollie Mohler, Capt. George Houghton; Otter, Capt. Bissell; Stella Whipple, Capt. J. Webber; Tiger, Capt. A. R. Young. Total arrivals, 195.

1866. Addie Johnson; Albany, Capt. Harry Holmes; Alice; Ariel; Chippewa Falls, Capt. Alex. Griggs; Damsel; Delaware; Enterprise; Flora; G. B. Knapp; G. H. Gray, Capt. Isaac Gray; G. H. Weeks; G. H. Wilson; General Sheridan; Hudson, Capt. Sencerbox; Jennie Baldwin, Capt. George W. Duncan; Julia, Capt. John H. Reaney; Lady Pike; Lansing; Mankato; Minnesota; Mollie Mohler, Capt. Harry W. Holmes; Otter, Capt. Bissell; Pearl; Pioneer; Planet (barge); Stella Whipple, Capt. J. P. Merrill; Tiber, Capt. Andy Miller. Total arrivals, about 100.

1867. Ariel; Chippewa Falls; Clipper; Ellen Hardy; Flora; G. B. Knapp; Hudson; Jeannette Roberts; Julia, Capt. John H. Reaney; Mankato; Mollie Mohler, Capt. H. W. Holmes; Otter, St. Anthony Falls, Capt. Aaron Russell; Tiber. Total arrivals of steamboats, 100; of barges, 105.

1868. Ariel, Capt. James Houghton; Ben Campbell: Buckeye; Chippewa Falls; Clipper; Cutter, Capt. J. V. Webber; Ellen Hardy, Capt. Russell; Flora; G. H. Wilson; Hudson, Capt. George W. Duncan; Jeannette Roberts, Capt. Robert; Mankato; Otter; Pioneer; Wyman X. Total arrivals of steamboats, 80; of barges, 100.

1869. Chippewa Falls, Capt. James Houghton; Ellen Hardy, Capt. Hardy; Jeannette Roberts, Capt. John Webber; Mankato, Capt. James Houghton; Otter; Pioneer, Capt. McLagan; St. Anthony Falls; Tiger; Wyman X., Capt. Wyman X. Folsom. Total trips below Mankato, about 50; above Mankato, about 80.

1870. Dexter; G. B. Knapp; Jeannette Roberts; Mankato, Capt. James Houghton; Otter, Capt. John Segar; Pioneer; St. Anthony Falls; Tiger, Capt. Hancock. Total trips below Mankato, about 50; above Mankato, about 100.

1871. Hudson; Mankato, Capt. James Houghton; Otter, Capt. Boncoeur Subilier; Pioneer. Total trips below Mankato, about 20; above Mankato, about 50.

1872. Osceola, one trip.

1873. Osceola, two trips.

1874. Osceola, Capt. Haycock, one trip.

1876. Ida Fulton; Wyman X.

1886. Alvira, one trip.

1897. Henrietta, Capt. E. W. Durant, one trip.

In a single list, as follows, these steamboats of the Minnesota river are arranged alphabetically, with information, so far as found, of their place and date of building, and their hull tonnage. Where further details are at hand, "sd." and "st." note respectively side-wheel and stern-wheel boats, and the figures in parentheses give the size of the boats in feet.

Addie Johnson			220
Albany	Ottawa, Minn.	1860	42
Alice			
Alvira			
Annie Johnson			171
Antelope		1850	37
Anthony Wayne, sd.		1848	
Ariel		1861	67
Belfast		1858	156
Ben Campbell, st. (29 by 182)	Shoustown, Pa.	1852	287
Ben Campbell [year 1868]			143
Benjamin Franklin, No. 1	Brownsville, Pa.	1847	181
Berlin			
Black Hawk, st. (21 by 130)	Rock Island, Ill.	1852	130
Buckeye			50
Chippewa Falls		1865	91

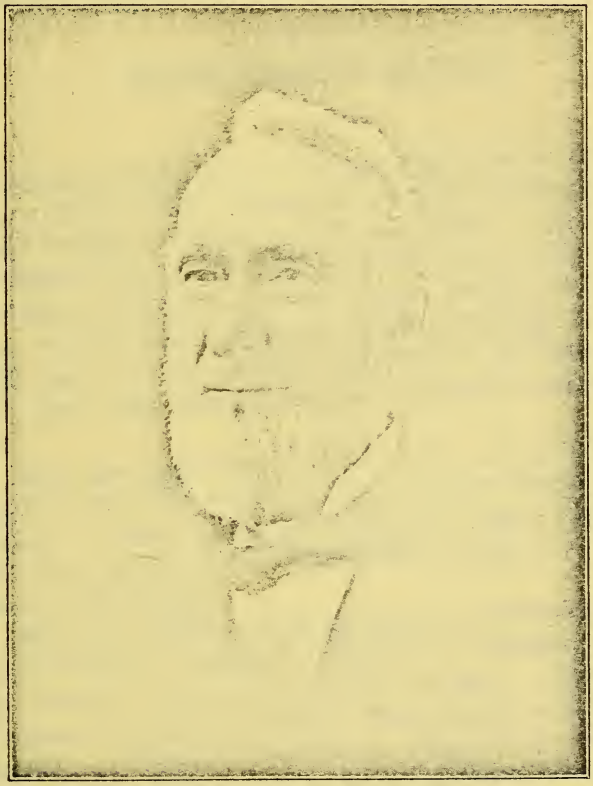
City Belle, sd.	Murraysville	1854	216
Clara Hines, sd.		1861	80
Clarion, st.	Monongahela, Pa.	1851	72
Clipper	Belle Vernon, Pa.	1855	68
Cutter		1867	92
Damsel			200
Delaware			168
Dexter			102
Ellen Hardy, st.		1867	77
Enterprise [year 1852]			
Enterprise		1865	80
Eolian	Brownsville, Pa.	1858	106
Equator, st.	Beaver, Pa.	1855	105
Excelsior	Brownsville, Pa.	1849	172
Express			
Fanny Harris	Brownsville, Pa.	1855	160
Favorite, sd.		1859	115
Fire Canoe	Lawrence	1854	166
Firesides			
Flora, st.		1860	159
Frank Steele, sd.		1857	136
Freighter	Zanesville, O.	1855	93
G. B. Knapp			61
G. H. Gray, st (19 by 139)	St. Croix River.	1863	59
G. H. Weeks			160
G. H. Wilson		1862	100
General Sheridan, sd.		1865	35
Globe		1854	
Greek Slave, sd.		1852	
H. S. Allen			
H. T. Yeatman, st.	Freedom, Pa.	1852	165
Henderson (barge)			
Henrietta, st. (170 feet long)			
Hudson		1865	125
Humboldt		1853	
Ida Fulton			220
Iola, st.		1853	
Isaac Shelby		1857	100
J. B. Gordon, No. 2			
J. Bissell			
Jeannette Roberts, st.		1857	112
Jennie Baldwin, st			193
Jenny Lind	Zanesville, O.	1851	107
Julia, st. (28 by 141)	Pittsburg, Pa.	1865	158
Lady Pike			210
Lansing		1865	84
Little Dorrit			

Little Mac (barge, 25 by 142)			114
Mankato (about 150 feet long)		1864	113
Medora		1857	101
Minneopa (barge, 12 by 75)			
Minnesota	Elizabethtown	1849	142
Minnesota Belle (170 feet long)	Belle Vernon, Pa.	1854	226
Mollie Mohler, sd. (22 by 125)	Carver, Minn.	1864	94
Monitor		1864	15
Montello		1853	
New Ulm Belle			
Nominee	Shoustown, Pa.	1848	213
Ocean Wave		1857	60
Osceola			
Otter		1865	30
Pearl	Cincinnati.	1851	184
Pearl [year 1866]			51
Pioneer			75
Planet (barge)			
Pomeroy			
Red Wing		1857	150
Reveille, st.		1855	
St. Anthony Falls, sd.		1866	40
St. Cloud			
Shenandoah		1853	
Stella Whipple		1863	74
Tiber	Marietta, O.	1851	184
Tiber [years 1866-67]			78
Tiger, sd,	Sauk County, Wis.	1849	84
Tiger		1865	17
Time and Tide, sd.	Freedom, Pa.	1853	131
Turtle, sd. (14 by 100)	Henderson, Minn.	1864	
Uncle Toby		1845	
Victor (barge)			
Viola			36
War Eagle	Fulton, Ill.	1849	296
Wave	Elizabethtown	1848	89
West Newton (150 feet long)		1852	300
Wyman X., st. (22 by 120)	Taylor's Falls, Minn.	1868	92
Yankee		1849	

The first boats on this river for each year, and the dates of their departure from the St. Paul wharf (or, for a considerable number, as indicated, of their arrivals at St. Peter and Mankato), are noted in the following table.

Anthony Wayne, June 28, 1850.
Excelsior, June 29, 1851.

Tiger, April 21, 1852.
Greek Slave, April 4, 1853.
Greek Slave, March 21, 1854.
Globe, April 8, 1855.
Reveille, April 10, 1856.
Equator, April 12, 1857.
Jeannette Roberts, March 20, 1858.
Freighter, March 25, 1859.
Time and Tide, March 19, 1860.
Albany, March 30, 1861.
Albany (arrival at St. Peter), April 3, 1862.
Jeannette Roberts (arrival at Mankato), April 3, 1863.
Jeannette Roberts (arrival at Mankato), April 16, 1864.
Ariel, April 2, 1865 (arriving April 4 at Mankato).
Chippewa Falls (arrival at Mankato), April 15, 1866.
Chippewa Falls (arrival at Mankato), April 18, 1867.
Chippewa Falls March 29, 1868 (arriving March 31 at Mankato).
Ellen Hardy (arrival at Mankato), April 18, 1869.
Otter (arrival at Mankato from New Ulm), April 5, 1870; Mankato (arrival from St. Paul), April 13, 1870.
Otter (arrival at Mankato from New Ulm), April 4, 1871; Pioneer (arrival from St. Paul), April 15, 1871.
Osceola, May 15, 1872.
Osceola, April 12, 1873.
Osceola, April 25, 1874.
Ida Fulton and Wyman X., April 18, 1876.
Alvira, 1886.
Henrietta, April 23, 1897.



J. W. Hancock

MISSIONARY WORK AT RED WING, 1849 TO 1852.*

BY REV. JOSEPH W. HANCOCK.

During the latter part of the year 1848 an invitation was sent me by a former fellow student, to join him in laboring as a missionary among the aborigines of our country. He was about to graduate from the theological seminary near Cincinnati, Ohio. I had left my studies on account of poor health five years previously, and had been residing at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. My health had so much improved, by living at the Springs several years, that I had married and was engaged in teaching school there.

After due consideration of the matter, my wife and I concluded to offer our services to the American Board of Foreign Missions, to labor among the Dakota or Sioux Indians. Our offer was accepted and a commission was sent to us from the officers of the Board.

But it was now too late in the season to undertake the journey to the Northwest Territory. Facilities for traveling, especially in that direction, were not what they are now. Such a place as Minnesota was not then known. The location assigned to us was described as follows: "An Indian village on the west bank of the upper Mississippi river, a few miles above lake Pepin."

We postponed our journey till the following spring. During the month of March in that year, a new territory, called Minnesota, was formed by act of the United States Congress. So we learned, before we left the East, that our future home would be in Minnesota Territory.

*Presented at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 12, 1902. The author was born in Orford, N. H., April 4, 1816, and has lived in Red Wing since 1849.

FAREWELL TO THE OLD HOME, AND THE JOURNEY WEST.

Many friends living in the New England states seemed to claim a farewell visit from us before we could start for the west. We made therefore a tour of visiting in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, in the month of April, and we also met the officers of the mission board at Boston to receive such instruction as they would give. These visits consumed several weeks. Some time in May we returned to Saratoga Springs, packed our necessary housekeeping goods, and shipped them to a mercantile firm in Galena, Ill., as freight.

Bidding farewell to our neighbors and friends at our delightsome home in New York, we started in a stage coach for the west. At Schenectady we took cars for Buffalo, and thence came to Chicago through the great lakes by steamboat. There were no railroads from Chicago to the Mississippi at that time. Having been informed that a horse and open wagon would be needed at our destined mission station, I purchased such a conveyance while in Chicago, and with it we made our way to Galena. This was by far the most toilsome part of our journey. The highways were scarcely changed from their natural condition. The streams were without bridges, and many swampy places let our wagon wheels sink so that we were often "stuck in the mud." But we struggled on, gathering rich experience for future work in a new country, and after several days arrived safely in Galena. At that place we were detained a few days waiting for a steamer to take us to the end of our journey.

Our freight, shipped from Saratoga to this place, had not yet arrived. Being instructed by the missionary helper who was already at Red Wing, I purchased a stock of provisions and groceries, and also a good milch cow, while in Galena. With these additional equipments, we were transported on the steamer Franklin to our future home in a wigwam village.

ARRIVAL AT RED WING.

The last stage of the journey was accomplished without much labor or anxiety of mind. The natural scenery along the banks of the "Father of Waters" at that season of the year was new and enchanting. We made several acquaintances among our fellow passengers. One of them was Henry M. Rice, who

had for some years been engaged as a trader among the Indians. I shall never forget how he pointed out to me the place where I was to land. While we stood on the upper deck of the steamer, as it was plowing its way through lake Pepin, he said to me, "Look yonder," pointing up the river valley, "do you see that oval hilltop rising above the tall trees on the river's border?" "Yes," I answered. "Well, that marks the place where we are to leave you."

In about an hour our boat gave the signal for landing, as she turned toward the end of Barn bluff. As we slowly approached the shore, a large number of Indians from the village had collected, evidently eager to know why a steamboat should stop at their port. It was a strange sight to many of the passengers on board the boat, who were on their way to the new towns of St. Paul and Stillwater, to see such an array of painted faces gazing at them.

The Indians seemed glad to see us who landed among them. Men, women, and children, all gave us a hearty hand shake. Our belongings were soon dumped ashore, with the exception of the horse and cow. These two animals stoutly objected to being sent ashore. It was mainly by human strength that they were compelled to walk the plank. Evidently they had not been acquainted with painted faces and blankets. The thought of being now far separated from friends and excluded from the civilized portion of the world was not a pleasant one to us, but it seemed a greater grief to our horse and cow.

There were three white persons then living in the village, who soon met us with a hearty welcome, and assisted us to establish our home in a log-house. These were Rev. John F. Aiton and wife, who had been here a few months only, and Mr. John Bush, who had married an Indian wife, and who had been sent here to assist the natives as a farmer.

EARLIER MISSIONARIES TO THE DAKOTAS.

This Red Wing band of the Dakotas had been accustomed to white missionaries some years before we came, but these missionaries had given up the work and abandoned the place. They were from Switzerland. While here they built two very comfortable log dwelling houses. A small garden fenced with rails,

and other improvements, the result of their labors, awaited our occupancy.

The fact that these Swiss missionaries had gained the confidence of the people, and that their efforts had been appreciated, was made plain when they applied through their chief to the United States Indian agent at Fort Snelling for other missionaries to be sent to them. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that our coming was the result of such application.

Two brothers, Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, were the first American missionaries to the Dakotas. Drs. Thomas S. Williamson and Stephen R. Riggs soon followed them. But all of these were occupying stations northwest of Red Wing. The Pond brothers had been laboring beyond Fort Snelling about fourteen years. They had already reduced the language to writing, and a number of elementary works had been printed in the Dakota language. These books were a great help to us in the beginning. But in order to speak the language correctly, time, patience, and frequent conversation with the people, were absolutely necessary.

SCHOOL FOR THE INDIAN CHILDREN.

We spent the remainder of that summer in learning the language, and in doing what we could to teach the children how to read it. Books were sent us by the pioneer co-workers, similar to the "First Readers" used in our common schools, containing short simple sentences describing familiar objects and actions.

Some parents at first seemed unwilling to have their children come to us to be taught. Those who did come were very irregular in their attendance. It often happened that we had only three or four pupils a day, and these were generally unwilling to stay long in the schoolroom. To be kept in one room for any great length of time was quite against their nature. The work seemed like trying to tame a lot of young foxes.

To restrain them by force was utterly impracticable. The children were wild and loved freedom. It would not do for us to detain them in the schoolroom longer than they were willing to stay. It took months of patient and persevering labor, of bribing with cakes and raisins, to get the children into anything like regularity in their attendance at the mission school.

Occasionally the parents would interest themselves enough to give us their assistance, and after a time we began to have from twenty to thirty pupils a day. But the custom had become pretty well established that when a child had read one lesson, he or she could leave for that day. As they were permitted to come and go at their own pleasure, we might have a few pupils early in the day, who would read and then leave us; others coming later would do the same, and so on. Thus one teacher could easily attend to thirty or more the same day.

After the corn began to ripen in August, many of the older children were kept from coming to read. They were engaged in the cornfields to scare away the blackbirds. Soon after the corn was harvested, the people of the village began to prepare to leave their bark wigwams, take their tents, and go away for the winter.

It was their custom to separate into small companies, and to go in different directions into the woods to live during the cold weather. The bark houses at the village were only comfortable to live in during the summer. It required a little too much self-denial for us to follow them into the woods and dwell in skin tents all winter. Yet we learned that one of the Pond brothers tried the experiment.

Our native citizens were nearly all gone by the last of October for their winter hunt. The foreigners were left to themselves. But still there was work for us to do. We had as yet acquired but a limited knowledge of the language. We obtained a manuscript dictionary from the pioneer co-workers, which contained several thousand words of the Dakota tongue, with the definition of each in English. This we had for copying and study. But myself and wife were called to another field of labor during the winter.

REMOVAL TO LONG PRAIRIE.

About the first of November, 1849, Rev. David Lowry came to Red Wing with an urgent request that my wife and I would go with him to Long Prairie. There were openings for us as teachers in the government school for the Winnebago Indians at that place. He thought it too late in the season to obtain suitable teachers from the East.

The prospect that we should have no children to teach at Red Wing led us to consent to go for the winter. Packing up such clothing as would be needful, we were soon on board a steamer for St. Paul. From thence we traveled to Long Prairie in a lumber wagon drawn by two horses. At St. Paul we obtained a supply of provisions for the journey to the Winnebago reservation. The distance was said to be 150 miles, through an uninhabited wilderness. Our load was four passengers with their baggage and a driver. We left St. Paul on a Monday morning and arrived at our destination on the following Saturday. It was a long, lonely journey through the wilderness, the more fatiguing because on frozen ground. Through the forest the road passed over stumps where the trees had been cut down, leaving an open space wide enough for a team to go through.

We camped out at night by the primitive roadside, sleeping on the ground in blankets and buffalo robes around the campfire. We cooked our fresh beef by holding it on sticks before the fire. Such traveling was indeed a novelty. On the last day of the trip, while going over a stump, one of the axletrees of our wagon was broken, and we were at a standstill for a short time. Soon, however, the living part of the expedition was moving on, some going on horseback, and the rest on foot, leaving the lumber wagon and heavy baggage to be sent for another day. We arrived at our destination on Saturday evening after dark.

A GOVERNMENT INDIAN SCHOOL.

Long Prairie was then quite a large village of Winnebago Indians living in log houses. Their school was supported by the United States government. The school building contained two large rooms, one for the boys, the other for the girls. The work was very different from that we had at Red Wing. There were from fifty to seventy pupils, regular in attendance, and we taught them wholly in the English language. We enjoyed the winter there.

When spring opened we were earnestly requested to return to Red Wing. Mr. and Mrs. Aiton, our co-laborers there, had determined to leave the field and go back to the States. We were given to understand that, if we did not return, the Red Wing band would be left without teachers by the first of July.

As we had only asked leave of absence for the winter, we felt it a duty to return. The time for leaving Long Prairie was put off till June.

THE VOYAGE OF RETURN TO RED WING.

The spring had been backward and rainy. Streams and swamps were almost impassable for teams; and therefore, after due deliberation, we concluded to travel by water. We took the longest way round to be our shortest way home. Obtaining a skiff, we started on the Long Prairie river, which runs northerly and empties into the Crow Wing river. The latter runs easterly, and, we were informed, would convey us to the Mississippi river.

It was a bright morning in June when we went aboard our boat. Besides myself, wife, and our little child, a young man, wishing to leave the place, took passage with us for St. Paul. He was a great help to us, being skillful in the use of oars. With our necessary baggage we took provisions for several days, because we could not expect to see any human habitation until we should arrive at Fort Ripley. This fort was at the time occupied by United States soldiers, and was on the Mississippi a few miles below the mouth of the Crow Wing river.

We enjoyed our first day's journey down the winding stream, till the middle of the afternoon. Then we noticed that some clouds had begun to spread over the sky, hiding the sun. Soon muttering thunder was heard, and evidently a shower was near. We turned our boat to shore, and had just time to haul it upon the land and turn it bottom upwards, putting ourselves and lading underneath it, when the rain began to pour down in torrents. Shower after shower followed till night came on, and we remained there until the light of another day dawned upon us. The clouds had disappeared, and we launched our boat again.

Still and smoothly we passed along the winding stream. Before noon we entered a forest. As the forest became more dense our river began to widen out until it seemed to be covering the whole country. The frequent rains had caused a flood. Keeping as best we could in a northerly direction, we soon found that we had left the true channel by going into a bay. After rowing about between the tall trees for some time, and watching

the course of the currents, we found the way back into the Crow Wing river.

There we turned easterly, and had been pursuing our new course but a few hours when we were overtaken by three long birchbark canoes, filled with Indians. It was a delegation of Menominees, who, with their agent, had been looking over the country for a desirable place for settlement. They were now returning home. They came alongside with about twice our speed. Seeing one white man among them, I hailed him for information as to our present distance from Fort Ripley. He did not know the distance, but they expected to reach the fort by sunset of that day. It would be impossible, however, for us to get there in our skiff till near midnight. I asked them to take Mrs. Hancock and our baby aboard, and to put them in care of an officer's family at the fort. They granted my request, and the three canoes were soon out of sight.

The young man and I pushed on until after sundown. Then we tied up our craft and slept in the woods, or rather we should have slept if the multitudes of mosquitoes had let us alone. We re-embarked the next morning early, and arrived at the fort before noon, where we found my wife and child, who had been well cared for since we parted.

After a short rest our company were again on board the skiff, and were passing down the Mississippi river. The water was high and the current swift, and the boat moved on without hard rowing,—especially when we passed over Little falls and the Sauk rapids. Our little vessel went tossing up and down over the latter.

We met no further danger till we came to Saint Anthony falls, where we were fortunate enough to find a team of horses and a lumber wagon to convey us with our boat around the falls. Below them we launched again, and soon arrived at the village named St. Paul. From that point we obtained passage on a steamboat to Red Wing.

Our former Dakota friends, especially the children, gave us a hearty welcome. Frequent calls and warm handshakes were received from all the wigwams the first day. The other missionary family had left the place only a day or two before.

LIFE AT THE INDIAN VILLAGE.

Our first and most important work consisted in learning to use the Dakota language. The people were very kind to help us in this matter by using signs. The work of writing down new words with their meaning in English occupied the most of our spare moments.

A day school was opened for the children as soon as possible. While in St. Paul I purchased a good-sized hand bell, with which to let the children know the time to assemble at the schoolroom. This one step toward regularity was hailed with enthusiasm. I soon found another incentive quite helpful in securing regular attendance. I bought raisins by the box, and a few, such as a child could hold in one hand, given at the close of school, were almost sure to bring the child next day. I had learned that regular attendance at the government school at Long Prairie was the result of daily rations which were distributed to the children at the close of school.

The older people were very friendly, making frequent calls on us, and they aided us much in acquiring their language. They often came to ask for sugar or a little flour. But when they came after such things, they brought pay, either some fresh fish, a choice piece of venison, or wild fowl.

The women were engaged in the summer season a part of the time in their cornfields, besides attending to cooking, etc. The men were hunting and fishing to such an extent as to keep their families well supplied. They did not kill game just for sport. This country was then well stocked with wild game. I did not wonder that the Dakotas were so much opposed to selling it, when commissioners were sent to make a treaty with them in 1851.

Wisconsin had become a state only the year before we came to Red Wing. The western portion, above lake Pepin, had very few settlers for some years, owing to the fact that the land was then covered by a dense forest, which afforded great advantages to our Dakota hunters.

During the summer of 1849 one white man was living on the Wisconsin side a few miles above Red Wing, whose chief

employment consisted in furnishing wood for steamboats. He was then a bachelor, and used frequently to come to our services on the Sabbath.

But in this summer of 1850, we learned there was another settler who had built his shanty and laid claim to a quarter section of land a little farther up the Mississippi on the Wisconsin side. He did not prove a very good neighbor. It was soon learned that he was engaged in selling whiskey to anybody wishing to purchase. The inhabitants of our village, who were often hunting in the woods of Wisconsin, soon began to be his customers. They exchanged their pelts and furs, or whatever they had to spare, for whiskey. The trader could also furnish jugs and tin-pails, in which the hunters were able to bring some home for their friends.

EVIL EFFECTS OF WHISKEY.

Whenever a few gallons of whiskey (called "Minne wakan" by the Dakotas) were brought over to our village, we had an exciting time. An Indian did not consider himself responsible for what he did while drunk. Therefore, when even no more than three or four were drunk at one time, the whole village was in a state of alarm. A drunken Indian always seemed crazy to do some mischief. It was the custom of the sober ones to deprive those who were drunk of every dangerous weapon.

One warm summer day, while I was engaged with a number of pupils, the schoolroom door being open, a tall man, crazed with whiskey, rushed in upon us. The children were all frightened, and I was somewhat in the same condition, but tried not to appear so. He was without a blanket, and stalked around the room with an angry look. I finally took hold of one of his bare arms and led him to the open door, and he left.

Such disturbances became so frequent, toward the end of the summer of 1850, that I determined to do something to prevent them. Hailing a passing steamer, I took a trip to St. Paul, and called on Governor Ramsey, and told him of our trouble. I knew there was a company of United States soldiers at Fort Snelling, and asked if he could send some of them down to drive away the whiskey sellers. The Governor expressed his indignation that such a trade was going on, but Wisconsin was a sovereign state, entirely beyond his jurisdiction, and I must go

to the proper authorities for redress. Of course a poor missionary could not spend the time, nor incur the expense, of a journey to Madison, Wisconsin, as traveling facilities were then.

I did some temperance work among the Dakota people during the few years they remained at Red Wing, an account of which is given in a history of Goodhue county, published in 1893.

Whiskey could be obtained on the opposite side of the river at any time for money, furs, or anything valuable which an Indian could part with. They were not moderate drinkers. They wanted enough to make them drunk when they wanted any. Several would put their valuables together, go over and purchase several gallons of whiskey, bring it to the village, and then have a grand spree. As an Indian was not responsible for what he did when drunk, these sprees often ended in injury to some one, and custom gave the injured one no redress. Consequently, when but a few men were crazed with whiskey, the whole village was on the watch. Every dangerous weapon had to be taken from them, and the children were kept out of sight if possible.

I remember being called upon early one morning to dress a wound which had been inflicted upon the head of a woman by a drunken man with a hatchet. Only a week or so afterward I was walking by the tepees and heard a woman cry out, "Now they come with it." I looked around. She pointed to the river, saying, "Minne wakan." I saw a canoe approaching from the Wisconsin side, and waited at the head of the path which led up the bank from the landing. There were six young men in the canoe. They came up the path in single file, the leader carrying a tin pail with a cover. I asked what he had brought in the pail. He answered, "Minne wakan." I snatched the pail from him, and its contents were immediately soaking into the ground. Loud talk followed. I told them that whiskey was their worst enemy, that it was the cause of nearly all our troubles. I told them that it was unlawful to bring it on our side of the river, and advised them to stop bringing it. The young men looked somewhat ashamed, but offered me no violence.

I was told by some one a little later that the leader had said that he would bring more whiskey over, defying the missionary to spill it. Only a few more days passed before he made the

attempt. The first intimation I had was when a man rushed hurriedly into the mission house and called me to come out. I went out and saw those same young men marching toward the house in single file. The leader was carrying a two gallon jug in front of him, boldly affirming that it was whiskey. I took it as a challenge. Grasping the jug with both hands, I tried to pull it from him, but in vain, for the reason that a strong cord which reached around the back of his neck was tied to the handle. He had kept the cord covered by his blanket so that I did not see it until after my vain attempt. However, I soon managed to draw out the cork and inverted the jug in spite of all his struggles to prevent it. Not one of his companions offered to help him. It took several minutes for all the whiskey to gurgle out of the jug. Meantime I was dragged around by the hair of my head, but I kept the jug inverted till it was empty.

By this time a large number of the Indians had come to see the sport. My antagonist immediately threw the empty jug upon the ground in an angry manner. Evidently not liking to give up as entirely conquered, he stretched himself at full length on the ground just before the door of the mission house. The people began to disperse to their homes; and I kindly asked him to go too. He declared he would not. After waiting a while, I took a piece of rope and slipped one end around his ankles, tying his feet together. I then took the other end of the rope over my shoulder and dragged him several rods. He begged to be let up, promising to go away. The rope was untied, he got up, and went peacably away.

If any more whiskey was brought over to Red Wing by those Indians, it was carefully concealed from me. Subsequently I obtained pledges from about twenty of the leading members of the band to cease, for a time, from the use of whiskey, and only in one case did I hear of the pledge being broken.

THE DAKOTA DICTIONARY.

For the first two years I spent at Red Wing, I was busy, in spare moments, in writing out a dictionary of Dakota words in alphabetic order, giving to each its definition in English. This work was first accomplished by the older missionaries, I only copying from theirs. I finished this dictionary in July, 1851.

It consists of 409 closely written pages of foolscap paper, and has over 16,000 Dakota words with their meanings in English.

About this time I had become so well acquainted with the language as to be able to speak it with a reasonable degree of accuracy, and ventured to appoint a religious service for each Sabbath, to which the Indians were invited. The children who attended school during the week days were generally present. Only a few adults came at first. All seemed to be interested. But the year 1851 was a year of great excitement among these people.

THE TREATY OF 1851, FROM THE INDIAN STANDPOINT.

A treaty with the United States government, for the sale of their land, was to be made. This news had been disseminated for months in advance. The Red Wing band were much opposed to any such treaty, and talked over their opposition very plainly. Some of the younger warriors, as it was known, declared they would shoot the first chief or head man who signed the treaty. But at the beginning of August of that year the summons came for all the seven bands of Mdewakantonwans to assemble at Mendota to meet the United States commissioners.

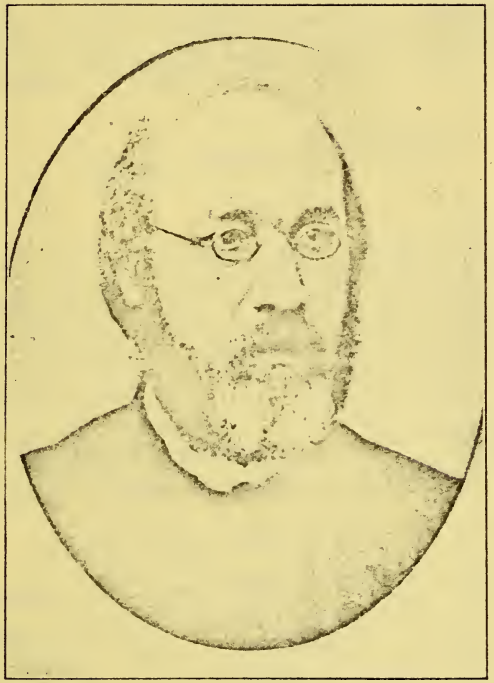
This call made a long vacancy in our school and missionary work. The treaty was made, in spite of all the opposition. Our people came back with a discontented look. They seemed from that time to have lost all interest in our labors for the children's education, or in their own improvement. They felt discouraged, and it was no wonder. They would soon be obliged to leave their home, where their departed friends were buried, to be henceforth occupied by strangers, and must go themselves to a strange land.

My labors were continued among the children, teaching them first to read their own language. Some of the older pupils learned English, and made a start in arithmetic and geography, before they were all removed to their new home in 1853.

When it is remembered that we could have schools only during the season for corn raising, that the children could have no books to use during the winter, and that many interruptions occurred in the village during the summer, no one can wonder that progress in education was not great. Besides the excite-

ments caused by whiskey, we had war parties, scalp dances, medicine feasts, and raw fish dances, which were frequent throughout the summer.

White settlers commenced to make their claims at Red Wing in 1852. The Indians were all removed the following year, and my work for their benefit ceased.



John W. Mauney
Chaplain U.S.A.

HISTORY OF FORT RIPLEY, 1849 TO 1859, BASED ON THE DIARY OF REV. SOLON W. MANNEY, D. D., CHAPLAIN OF THIS POST FROM 1851 TO 1859.*

BY REV. GEORGE C. TANNER.

On the 15th of October, 1851, the Rev. Solon W. Manney, rector of St. James' Episcopal Church, Milwaukee, received a letter from Capt. J. B. S. Todd, at that time in command at Fort Ripley, informing him that the Council of Administration at that post had nominated him to the Secretary of War as their chaplain. The official notice of his appointment at Washington reached him on the 29th, and a few days later, having resigned his parish, he set out for his new field of labor.

JOURNEY FROM MILWAUKEE TO FORT RIPLEY.

In 1851 the journey from Milwaukee to the Mississippi was by stage. At Galena he was met by Captain (now General) N. J. T. Dana. The day following his arrival he took passage with his family on the steamboat "Uncle Toby," bound for St. Peter's, as Mendota at the mouth of the Minnesota river was then designated.

Leaving Galena on the 15th of November, he notes as settlements along the Mississippi, Dubuque, Buena Vista, Cassville, Prairie La Porte, Clayton City, McGregor, Prairie du Chien, Columbus, Lansing, and La Crosse. The first settlement above La Crosse in 1851, unless we except a trading house or two, was Point Douglas, where he arrived late in the afternoon of November 18th. "Here the boat left us," he writes, "refus-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, March 12, 1900. A copy of this Diary, made from the original by permission of Rev. Dr. Manney's daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Tenney, has been presented by the author of this paper to the Historical Society's Library.

ing to proceed farther. . . . We secured a lumber wagon to take us to St. Paul. Arrived at St. Paul at 5 p.m. Called at the Mission; took tea with the brethren" [Rev. James Lloyd Breck and his associates].

Stopping as a guest at the Central House, he was delayed in St. Paul for several days, on account of the danger in crossing the river. It was not till the 3rd of December that he was able to resume his journey up the river. At length, on the afternoon of the 7th, he reached the Fort, where he was cordially received by Captain Todd, who came to meet him a few miles from the post, and invited him and his family to his own quarters.

EARLY LIFE OF DR. MANNEY.

As the first Chaplain at Fort Ripley was one of the Territorial Pioneers of Minnesota and passed the rest of his days in this new Commonwealth, a short account of his early life will not be out of place.

Solon W. Manney was born at Hyde Park, N. Y., near Poughkeepsie, in the year 1813. His early life was passed at the latter place amid influences savoring of an ancestry which has given us not a few eminent names. His ancestors were of the Huguenot faith. His father was a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and his mother was of Quaker descent. Through the influence of his young associates, he was drawn towards the Episcopal Church, and was baptized into this faith by Dr. Whittingham, afterwards the learned Bishop of Maryland.

Through his influence young Manney was led to prepare for the sacred ministry and became his pupil in the General Theological Seminary in New York City. He graduated with honor in 1837, in a class which gave us several well known clergy. His commencement thesis was a criticism on "Edwards on the Will;" but his propositions were so far in advance of the thought of that day, that the professor in charge of that department, while commending the production, would not allow it to be delivered.

He was ordained by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, and for two years was rector of the Church of the Nativity in New York City. Fired with zeal for work in the new West, enkindled by Bishop Kemper at his visits to the East, he came out to Indiana

and for seven years labored at La Porte and Michigan City. He was one of the pioneer clergy who organized the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Indiana.

His original destination had been the Territory of Wisconsin. In 1850, in accordance with his first intention, he came to Milwaukee, where in November he took charge of the newly organized parish of St. James. While there he held several responsible positions in the Church. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese and the Missionary Board, and one of the examining chaplains. While thus actively engaged and useful in his new field, he received the appointment of chaplain at Fort Ripley, our most remote military post on our northwestern frontier.

LOCATION AND BUILDING OF FORT RIPLEY.

The occasion of building Fort Ripley is supplied in a letter by Gen. N. J. T. Dana, as follows:

Just after the close of the War with Mexico, the Government consummated a treaty with theWinnebago Indians, then residing within the limits of Iowa, by the terms of which they transferred to the United States all their lands in that state, receiving in return a beautiful tract in Minnesota, the eastern boundary of which extended from near the mouth of the Crow Wing river southward along the Mississippi to a little below Sauk Rapids.

Among the obligations assumed by the United States by that treaty was the location and construction of a cantonment, and the stationing of a garrison thereat within the limits of the new Indian grant, near the mouth of the Crow Wing river. This condition was the cause of the unfortunate location of Fort Ripley. Brigadier General George M. Brooke, a veteran of the War of 1812, was at the time the commander of the military department which embraced the new Winnebago reservation, with his headquarters at St. Louis. Having received instructions from the War Department as to the location of the new post under the terms of the Winnebago treaty, he proceeded to Crow Wing in the month of November, 1848, with a squadron of dragoons and several staff-officers; and, after reconnoitering the country, finally decided that the terms of the Winnebago treaty and his instructions made it his duty to locate the new post on the western bank of the Mississippi nearly opposite to the mouth of the Nokasippi river.

Being on duty in Boston at this time I received orders to report to General Brooke, and did so accordingly, at the earliest possible moment, and found the Post already located, and the General about returning to St. Louis. I was an officer of the Quartermaster's Department, and he left me there to build the Fort. The country was already covered with snow. A portable saw-mill was put in operation, and the winter passed in getting out lumber and erecting temporary accommodations for a small gang of

carpenters and laborers. In the spring of 1849, Company A of the Sixth Infantry at Fort Snelling was moved up to the new site, the commander of which was Capt. John B. S. Todd, who was the first commanding officer of the Post, called Fort Gaines, in honor of Brigadier General Edmund P. Gaines, then stationed at New Orleans.

Subsequently his name was given to a new permanent fortification in process of construction at the entrance of Mobile bay; and the cantonment in the Winnebago country was named Fort Ripley by the War Department in honor of Gen. Eleazer W. Ripley, a distinguished officer of the War of 1812. This name was officially announced November 4th, 1850.

General Dana superintended the work for two years. The builder of the fort was Mr. Jesse H. Pomroy, of St. Paul, who also had charge of the construction of Fort Ridgely in 1853-4.

"Rev. Mr. Manney, the first chaplain at Fort Ripley, was commended to us," says General Dana, "by good Bishop Kemper, and was elected before I left there. Rev. Frederick Ayer, a Presbyterian minister, who had been a teacher among the Ojibways at Sandy Lake, had established himself near the lower end of the military reservation, on the east side of the river near Little Falls, and was most kind in officiating at one or two funerals for the families at Fort Ripley. In the winter of 1850 I carried the venerable chaplain of Fort Snelling, Father Gear, to Fort Ripley in a sleigh, and we both enjoyed the visit greatly. We also had subsequently a vist from Bishop Kemper and the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck. The latter relinquished his work at St. Paul to Dr. Van Ingen, and removed to Gull lake."

As the name of General Dana is thus associated with Fort Ripley, it may be interesting to note that a little later he became a resident of St. Paul. On the breaking out of the Civil War, he was appointed colonel of the First Minnesota, and was afterward promoted as a brigadier general.

The location of the post was on the west bank of the Mississippi about twenty miles above the mouth of Swan river, and seven miles south of Crow Wing, at a point where the channel runs southwest. The distance by wagon road from St. Paul was one hundred and fifty miles. The road lay along the east bank of the Mississippi, with no approach to the fort except by ferry. The Post Reserve was a mile square and was surrounded by a dense forest. The fort was situated on a plateau elevated a little above the river, and consisted of several story and a half buildings constructed of wood, forming three sides of a

square, with the open side facing the stream. On the right, looking towards the quadrangle, were the quarters of the officers, the chaplain's residence, and the sutler's store; on the left, also quarters for officers, a room set apart for a chapel, and a hospital; while the third side was filled by the barracks for the soldiers. The northwest and southwest corners were flanked by block-houses of logs, with port-holes commanding the sides of the fort. The houses stood some fifteen to twenty feet apart, so that there was a free entrance between, excepting on the east side where there was a stockade built of logs set on end.

THE VICINITY NORTHWARD TO GULL LAKE.

On the opposite side of the Mississippi was the Government farm, where Mr. S. Baldwin Olmstead had built a house and was engaged in farming and furnishing supplies. Seven miles above, near the mouth of the Crow Wing (so named from the shape of an island at its mouth, fancifully likened to the wing of a crow), was the village bearing the same name, a mere hamlet, or trading post, on the verge of civilization. This was the terminus of the wagon road.

About a mile above this village was the house of Hole-in-the-Day, head chief of the Ojibways (Chippeways), a crafty and subtle man, who ultimately came to his end by the hand of some unknown assassin. Three miles above Crow Wing, on the left bank of the Crow Wing river near the mouth of Gull river, was the Chippeway Agency. Eleven miles farther north, in the wilds up the Gull river, a rapid, rippling stream, flowing out of Gull lake, was the Ojibway Mission planted by the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck in the early summer of 1852, located at the northeast corner of the lake.

Between Gull lake and Round lake, eastward, was the residence of Enmegahbowh, an educated Canadian Indian, who had been identified with missionary work among the Ojibways of Minnesota, but who had now become an interpreter for Mr. Breck and ultimately entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. As the career of this remarkable man is closely connected with the history of this immediate locality, a brief account of his early life, derived from a narrative given by himself, will not be foreign to our subject.

EARLY LIFE OF ENMEGAHBOWH.

The Indian missionary, Enmegahbowh, or, as he is also known, the Rev. John Johnson, was born near Peterborough, in Upper Canada, of Christian Indians, who led a wandering life, subsisting by hunting and fishing. While he was yet a lad, the Rev. Mr. Armour, of the Church of England, visited the Indian camp and asked the parents to give him the child. At first the mother refused. A second visit was more successful, and the boy became a member of Mr. Armour's family and school. After some weeks the boy returned to the wigwam of his parents, carrying with him his books. Often long into the night watches, by the light of the fire he conned his lessons while the family were asleep.

After some time a Methodist minister, seeing that he was a promising child, asked the mother to give him her son. The mother at last yielded, on condition that he should be allowed to return at the end of a year. The day of parting came and the fond parents watched their boy as he embarked on the canoe journey to lake Superior. A twelvemonth he was at the Sault Ste. Marie. Then he went from place to place as an interpreter. For a while he was at the La Pointe Mission. At different times he lived with the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic missionaries, and was a member of the missions at Red lake, Leech lake, Sandy lake, and Cass lake. But after years of faithful labor among the Ojibways, the Protestant missionaries withdrew from the field.

"As I stood and saw these good men going down the river in their canoes," says Enmegahbowh, "and the last hope of my people passing from my sight, I wept. . . . Then I thought I would go back to my own people and home and get an education, that I might tell my people the right way; but my friends here said, 'We will send you to school.'"

Seven years were spent in study at an academy near Jacksonville, Ill., whence he returned to what is now Minnesota. Then there was not a white man in St. Paul. Leaving his trunk at Fort Snelling, and taking with him only his Ojibway Testament, he went northward into the wilderness and became an interpreter for the Methodists. When these also gave up their mission, he resolved to return to Canada, and set out on his

long voyage across the "Big Sea Water." A tempest having arisen in which all on board came near perishing, he changed his purpose, and, returning to his people, was on the point of going to Washington with the chiefs to ask for a teacher, when, at the suggestion of the Rev. E. G. Gear, whom he had met at Fort Snelling, he resolved to ask the Protestant Episcopal Church to send them a missionary. At Philadelphia, on his journey, he received a letter from Father Gear, informing him that a man had been found who would go to his people. This was the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, the head of the Associate Mission in St. Paul. Such was the beginning of a life of loving service to the Ojibway people, happily prolonged over a period of more than half a century.

COMMANDANTS OF FORT RIPLEY.

The first in command at Fort Ripley was Captain John B. S. Todd, from whom Todd county received its name, who afterward was a leading citizen of Dakota, and identified with the material interests of Yankton. In 1854 he was succeeded by Major George W. Patten, poet, and writer on military science. For a short time in the summer of 1857, the post was without a garrison, and was in charge of Ordnance Sergeant Alexander. On the return of the troops, Major Patten again came into command. On the removal of the military force, the Indians at Leech lake became troublesome, and it was found necessary to keep up the garrison, as was the case during the Indian troubles of 1862-3. After Major Patten, Major Hannibal Day was in command; and still later Capt. William S. McCaskey and Capt. John C. Bates, both of whom won distinction in the Civil War, and again, nearly forty years later, in the Philippine War.

THE CHAPLAIN AND HIS DIARY.

The Diary of Chaplain Manney covers the period of his residence at Fort Ripley, from December 7th, 1851, to May 17th, 1859, an interesting period in the early history of Minnesota. It notes the daily occurrences at the fort, matters of interest in the neighborhood, the phenomena of the weather, and speaks of personages well known in our early history. The chronicle also records the time of planting and ingathering of fruits. The chaplain is a disciple of honest Isaak Walton. He tells the day

of his first shot on the wing. He is a student of Nature, an observer of animal life, of the phenomena of the heavens. He is the garrison schoolmaster. On an important occasion he was called to practice the art of Aesculapius. At another time he was prosecuting attorney in a criminal case. It is interesting to note in this connection that the canons of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota were framed in the chaplain's study. He has recorded the more stirring events of border life, not simply the births and baptisms and burials, but the darker side of a life where civilization and barbarism meet and mingle, the outbreaks of unrestrained passions, by giving a continuous record of Indian affairs in his neighborhood for a period of over seven years.

First, there is the regularly recurring mention of Divine Service and a sermon in the chapel on the Lord's Day. The sermon was argumentative and logical, after the manner of the old English divines. His sermons were models of reasoning, and were afterward delivered before his students of theology. They contained meat for mature minds, and his hearers, brought up under the old regime, listened with interest. The uneducated could hardly fail to receive a benediction in the presence of his genial face, from which the humanities were reflected. His manner in the sacred offices was reverential and impressive. Few could render the service of the Prayer Book more devoutly. His piety was not emotional. His religion was a reasonable service. He so lived as if man were made to be mindful of his higher obligation to a Divine Will, and of his chief end to glorify God and enjoy Him. It was a maxim with him that the Prayer Book had made provision for but one sermon a Sunday. We note that the services were attended by the officers of the garrison. On Christmas day he writes: "Divine Service, Sermon, and Holy Communion,—a good congregation, and a goodly number of communicants. Text: Peace on earth."

Such was our chaplain: a man of medium stature, of Holland ancestry, free-hearted and good-natured, without mannerism or professional appearance, alike respected by the army officers of the olden time and beloved by the common soldiers: a versatile man, well read in book lore, yet familiar with the common matters of daily living, who could turn from the serious

thoughts of the study to the innocent diversions of life. Who shall estimate the influence of such a man at a remote frontier post?

Then there is the Chapel, a simple room decently fitted up, no doubt by the ladies of the garrison, supplemented by the generosity of the officers; a voluntary Service, with no roll call; a general meeting place, on a national platform under a common flag.

The only religious teachers in this region were Chaplain Manney, Father Pierz at Crow Wing, the Rev. Mr. Ayer near Little Falls, and Father Vevaldi at Long Prairie. There were occasional ministrations at the fort by clergy from outside. Among these were Father Vevaldi, the Roman Catholic priest; Bishop Kemper; the Rev. Edward D. Neill, D.D., one of our Territorial Pioneers, historian and educator; and others, as J. Lloyd Breck and E. Steele Peake, of St. Columba Mission. On one occasion the Chaplain had a pleasant interview with Father Vevaldi, and conversed with him in Latin on ecclesiastical questions.

WEATHER RECORDS.

After a half century, it is still interesting to note the variableness of the seasons at that early day, before the axe or the plowshare of the pioneer could have wrought any climatic change.

In 1857 the river closed as early as November 21st, the earliest closing recorded during all those eight years; but in 1854 the river was open at the garrison, and for a mile or two above, as late as the 26th of December. In 1854 the river opposite the fort was open, so that the ferry could cross, as early as the 21st of March; but in 1857 teams were crossing on the ice at Crow Wing as late as the 24th of April.

The winter of 1851-2 was comparatively mild, but variable. The coldest day of the season was January 19th, when the thermometer registered thirty degrees below zero at sunrise. In 1852-3 the coldest day was December 21st, when the thermometer indicated thirty-seven below. The severity of that winter was relieved by mild and pleasant intervals. The December of

1855 was unusually severe. At sunrise on the 24th, the mercury was frozen in the bulb, the coldest ever known at the post in December up to that date, and surpassed only by that of January 24th, 1854. On Christmas the mercury congealed when exposed, and the chapel service had to be suspended. The winter of 1854-5 seems to have been unusually mild, the coldest weather being only twenty-nine below, with rain early in January. In 1858 the severest snowstorm of the season occurred as late as the 4th of April.

THE MISSION OF ST. COLUMBA, AT GULL LAKE.

Fort Ripley is also interesting for its connection with the Indian Mission of the Episcopal Church at Gull lake. February 21st, 1852, the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, accompanied by Chaplain Manney, went to Crow Wing to see Hole-in-the-Day. The chief being absent, they returned without an interview. Early in March Hole-in-the-Day with his wives took tea at the fort, when the chaplain had some conversation with him as to the introduction of Christianity among his tribe, and also concerning his own views and feelings on this subject. A little later the chief with two of his wives, and Enmegahbowh, called at the post to request the chaplain to bury his child which had died that day while they were on their way for medical aid. After considering the matter, the chaplain consented, and took the opportunity to expound to them the doctrine of the resurrection. At the same time he resolved two questions that were asked by the chief: Whether it would be proper for him to have a feast in remembrance of his child? Answer, No. And how his two wives whom he intends to put away should be treated? Answer: He must see that they are comfortably provided for and protected, with the liberty of marrying again, when the obligation of support and protection would cease on their marriage, and that his children should have all the privileges of his family.

Towards the close of April, 1852, Mr. Breck arrived at the fort again, on his way to Gull lake to see Hole-in-the-Day. May 19th, accompanied by Craig and Holcomb, students of the mission at St. Paul, Mr. Breck made a third visit to the Indian country. After some difficulty he at length succeeded in getting possession of ground for a mission, Hole-in-the-Day having

proved faithless. During the summer Mr. Breck made monthly journeys to and from St. Paul on foot, as his custom was. As the season passed, the prospect of work among the Ojibways became more encouraging, and on the first day of November, 1852, the corner stone was laid of the Indian Church of St. Columba, the first edifice of the Episcopal Church on the west bank of the Mississippi.

Meanwhile, the work of instructing the Indians in the ways of Christian living went on apace. All were taught to work, and nothing was given without service rendered in return. The success of the efforts of Mr. Breck attracted official notice. At the end of the first year Governor Gorman, superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Minnesota, without solicitation, stated to Bishop Kemper his intention to apply to the Department at Washington for an annual gift to the mission of five hundred dollars. At the close of the second year both the governor and Major Herriman, the Indian agent, were so impressed by the results as to recommend the appropriation of the Ojibway school fund to the St. Columba Mission. At that time there was no other mission of any religious body among the Ojibways of the Mississippi. The Presbyterians also generously united in this application in behalf of the work of Mr. Breck. As a result of this noble and Christian endeavor, Mr. Breck, as his custom was, placed upon the altar of the church at St. Columba, on the second Sunday after Trinity, in 1854, an offering of one thousand dollars in gold, this being one third part of what the general Government was to give him that year.

We have spoken particularly of the work of Mr. Breck, because of its connection with the Government and with Fort Ripley, and also because of the interest taken by Chaplain Manney in its behalf. Indeed, the latter was appointed by Bishop Kemper to make an examination and an annual report of the financial condition of the Mission. If it be said that the Government had no concern with religious work, it should be remembered that in this case, as everywhere else, the fruits more than repaid the protection the Post afforded the Mission; for it was only by the timely notice given by Christian Indians, in 1857, that Crow Wing was saved, and by Enmegahbowh at very great risk, in 1862, which prevented the garrison of Fort Ripley from being

surprised, and averted a general massacre on our northern frontier, like that perpetrated by the Sioux in the southwest part of the state.

The following incident related by the chaplain will illustrate the thoughtful side of Indian character. It occurred in connection with the laying of the corner stone of the Church of St. Columba. Two Indians came with Enmegahbowh to ask the chaplain some questions. It was in Mr. Breck's study at Gull lake. "The questions," says the chaplain, "were well put. They related to the Church, the existence of moral evil, and the unity of the human race. I had a long conversation with them on each of these points, at which they expressed themselves gratified and satisfied. On taking out my watch to see the time, one of the Indians asked me whether day and night were of equal length. This resulted in quite a long conversation on astronomy, at which they expressed great astonishment.

LIFE AT THE FORT.

How well the Chaplain served the Post appears from his Diary. There is the regularly recurring note of Divine Service; the children are gathered in school for daily instruction; the social relations with the officers are carefully observed; he ministers to the dying private; he notes the first communion, and records the birth and baptism; he commits the body to the earth with the last offices; he solemnized the rites of holy matrimony; and by his chaplaincy vindicated our claim to be a Christian nation. He does not forget works of mercy and charity. "A young Indian," he writes, "died today from bronchial consumption, as near as I could judge. He was in want; had been visited by Miss Phelps daily, and his wants supplied. A vast number die of this disease and inflammation of the lungs."

JOURNEYS TO LEECH AND OTTER TAIL LAKES.

In March, 1853, Chaplain Manney, with Captain Todd and the Rev. Mr. Breck, made a journey to Leech lake. This visit had a twofold object. Captain Todd was interested in scientific explorations, and Mr. Breck was already planning to extend his work among the red men. The chaplain combined the student and the philanthropist. The Diary contains the following: "March 13th, Divine Service at Bungo's, which is the old mis-

sion ground [of the American Board, Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Boutwell]. Breck read the Service and I preached. The first Service of our Church that those wild regions ever listened to."

Leech lake, so named from the leeches abounding in its waters, was the home of George Bungo, a tall man, erect, well-built, very black, and, consequently, very striking in appearance. He enjoyed in the highest degree the confidence of men like the Hon. Henry M. Rice, and had a credit almost unlimited with the leading merchants of St. Paul. He was educated at Montreal. Our chronicle says: "Left Leech lake about 9 a.m. for home, having been treated with great hospitality by George, who is a mixed blood, African and Indian. His father, he told me, was taken prisoner by the Indians near Chicago, or Milwaukee, about the latter part of the last century or the beginning of this. George was born on the St. Croix."

In the early summer of 1853 another journey was made by the chaplain and Mr. Breck to Otter Tail lake. The party consisted of Breck, Manney, George Bungo, and two experienced voyageurs. The route was up the fine and beautiful stream of the Crow Wing. The daily record begins with prayers and breakfast, and closes with supper and prayers. "One afternoon, caught a legged snake, called by the Indians *okodigenabik,* said to be very scarce, called by some of them *manito,* which has this singular property when struck, its tail would snap like glass." From the Crow Wing they proceeded up Leaf river, a crooked stream, whose windings dispersed its blessings widely. After morning prayer on Sunday they proceeded on their way, nooning at a fine high bluff on which they said the Litany, and at nightfall camped on Leaf lake. The day following they passed successively through Leaf lake, really two lakes, with a short portage to a third, and thence another portage to Otter Tail lake, which, the writer says, not more than ten white men had ever seen.

The purpose of this journey was to secure a site for another Indian mission. The day following their arrival, the Indians came in and sent word that they were ready to see the visitors. Breck stated to them his purpose, to establish a mission among them, with the advantages they might expect from changing their mode of life.

The chief answered by saying that "when the whites generally came among them they put sugar in their mouths, but we had not. We had spoken plainly, and from the heart." He said that they were poor. "We have nothing but what we wear. We have no settled home. Like the wild deer, our home is where night overtakes us." He then welcomed Mr. Breck among them, gave him what land he wanted for the mission, all the timber he needed, all the fish he could use. He then indulged in the prospect of "advantage which was likely to accrue to his band from the establishment of the mission, in their improved condition, in teaching them to labor and draw their living from the soil, in the education of their children, in their happy homes. He talked very sensibly. The chief is a noble fellow. McDonald, a worthless trader at Crow Wing, had poisoned the minds of the principal men against this mission, or any mission amongst them. But this did not deter the chief."

After prayers and breakfast they went out and selected the ground for the mission buildings and the farm, a beautiful site with an extensive view upon the lake. "After an early dinner, and while the voyageurs were making the portage," the Chaplain writes, "we went to the mission grounds, erected a cross, read the Tenth Selection, consisting of a part of Psalm 96 and Psalms 148 to 150, said the Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, and some Prayers, and thus, as it were, consecrated it to God Most High, through His Son Jesus Christ." Then they entered their canoes and proceeded on their way home. At their former camping ground they found two men bound for Pembina in the Red River country. One of their horses had been injured the day before and left to die. "Our party gave them what provisions they could spare for their unexpectedly prolonged journey."

ATTEMPTED JOURNEY TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

The account of an attempt to reach lake Superior carries us back to a condition of things we can scarcely realize today. Early in the month of October, 1854, in company with Bishop Kemper, the chaplain set out for lake Superior, to which the bishop refers in one of his reports. The route was up the Mississippi by canoe, thence into Sandy lake, and onward with only a short portage between the waters tributary to that lake and those of the St. Louis, flowing into lake Superior. Experienced voya-

geurs were required for this journey. Leaving Crow Wing on the 6th, they reached Willow river at noon on the fifth day after their departure. There it became evident that the voyageurs would not get them to Sandy lake before Thursday night, which must necessarily prevent them from getting to Superior before Monday or Tuesday night of the following week, thus compelling them to spend three successive Sundays in the wilderness.

Upon consultation it was thought useless to proceed, whereupon the Chaplain gave the order to return. The principal voyageur refusing, they left him, and, placing an Indian in the stern, and himself taking a paddle in the bow, they reached their last camping place about sundown.

The next morning at breakfast three Indians and a halfbreed came into camp from Sandy lake, bound for Crow Wing. One of these was hired to go in the canoe. About noon the following day, Mahnanik, the Indian whom they had first hired at Rapid river, took in his wife and child. At Crow Wing the second Indian left. So they put the squaw in the stern, and proceeded on,—"the crew now consisting of Chaplain Manney in the bow, Mahnanik at the oars, his squaw in the stern,—and, as passengers, Bishop Kemper and the papoose. We arrived at the garrison about 2 p. m., after an absence of nearly nine days."

TEMPORARY WITHDRAWAL OF THE GARRISON.

The withdrawal of the troops from Fort Ripley, which had been under consideration for some time, was effected early in 1857. On the 25th of March the intelligence reached the fort, through a general order published in the New York Herald, that the Tenth Regiment was ordered to Leavenworth, and the Post was to be abandoned. On the 20th of the following month it was learned that Fort Snelling also was to be vacated and sold. In June, Lieutenant Kelly received orders to go to Leavenworth; and in July the military stores at Fort Ripley were offered for sale.

ENSUING TROUBLES WITH THE OJIBWAYS.

Following close upon this, troubles began to gather at Leech lake, where, a year before, Mr. Breck had established a second mission. The particulars of this disturbance may be found in a series of articles, on the work of the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck, in the

Minnesota Missionary for February, 1896. The account there given is taken from a paper prepared by Miss Emily J. West, who was a member of the mission at Leech lake, being an eye witness of what she relates.

The trouble began early in July, 1857. The chaplain was absent at the time, but, on receiving a note that the members of the Leech Lake Mission were at the Fort, he hastened home and found that they had left Kesahgah in the night of Thursday, the 9th, on account of the bad and violent behavior of some Indians who were destroying their property and who even threatened personal violence.

In the Diary we find the following entry almost immediately after the withdrawal of the garrison: "We may now expect personal violence, and murders, and the destruction of property on the ceded lands, and all along the frontier. The withdrawal of the troops from this section can result in nothing else." Just four years before, to a day, the Indians had killed an ox belonging to the mission at Gull lake. But the prompt arrest of the offenders, who had been put in irons and set to work, had prevented any further outrages until after the withdrawal of the troops.

A few days later, an inoffensive German, while traveling along the road near Gull lake, was murdered under circumstances of the greatest cruelty. The murderers were brought to the fort, but, as they could not be kept there, a team was procured at Mr. Olmstead's, across the river, and they were forwarded to Belle Prairie, to be delivered to the justice who was to commit them to the sheriff at Little Falls.

The news of the murder spread; and, armed with pistols and provided with ropes, a party left Swan River, determined upon securing the prisoners and executing them. They succeeded in overtaking the officer and his posse, and, threatening the sheriff even to putting a rope round the neck of one of his men, seized the three Indians and executed and buried them handcuffed to each other.

The Indians were now becoming intensely excited and threatened revenge. Mr. Peake and his family left the mission at Gull lake in the care of the Christian Indians and took refuge in the fort. Indians were seen skulking about, ready to murder the first white man who should happen to come in their way.

It was unsafe even at the fort to step outside the door in the evening. The click of a gun was a warning to keep under cover.

At the same time considerable excitement was produced in Crow Wing by the revelation of Crow Feather of the plans of Hole-in-the-Day. The night previous he had communicated to Crow Feather and five or six braves his wishes that Crow Feather and one other should proceed to Crow Wing and kill the first white man they met,—the other four to proceed to Gull lake and burn all the mission buildings and property.

Through the influence of Clement Beaulieu, who had gotten this information from Crow Feather, the latter was induced to return to the Agency and try to prevent the burning of the mission property. It is but justice to Crow Feather to note that, in answer to the wishes of Hole-in-the-Day, he said he had traveled among the whites a good deal and had received naught but kindness, and that he could not kill a white man.

"In view of the threatened danger to life and property," the Chaplain writes, "I wrote a note to Hole-in-the-Day to the effect that we were aware of his intentions, and knew that he was inciting a number of Indians to deeds of violence and murder; also that, if he carried out his intentions, we should take every means in our power to bring him to a speedy and summary punishment."

On Monday of the following week, August 24, 1857, White Fisher and Enmegahbowh came to the fort, the former right from Gull lake, stating that he with a number of Indians at Gull lake had held a kind of council on Saturday night, wherein they had agreed to stand by the Mission and send a message to Hole-in-the-Day, that they would not listen to his wicked proposals. Hole-in-the-Day had also given Indians money to kill Enmegahbowh.

On the 27th, Captain Barry, with a small escort from Fort Snelling arrived to examine into the true state of the late difficulties. It seems that, on the receipt of the letter from the chaplain, Col. Burke sent a messenger up the Minnesota river to Fort Ridgely; whereupon Col. Abercrombie ordered Capt. Barry to take an escort and proceed to the northern frontier and learn the exact state of affairs. Accordingly, Enmegahbowh and White Fisher were sent for to give Capt. Barry information concerning the troubles and the general disposition of the Indians.

With the failure of the plot of Hole-in-the-Day and the presence of our soldiers at the fort, quiet was restored and continued during the following winter. The Rev. E. Steele Peake and his family remained at the garrison, as it was not thought safe for him to return to Gull lake immediately. Quarters were assigned him by Major Patten, the officer in command, and such of the Indian children as had been members of his family were also received.

THE RESERVE AND FORT OFFERED FOR SALE.

The chief event concerning Fort Ripley in the latter part of this year 1857 was the attempted sale of the Reserve, together with the fort, by the War Department, which took place on the 20th of October. The Reserve and adjoining lands, to the amount in all of about 60,000 acres, in various lots, received as bids about $1,800, or an average of three cents an acre. It was less than two months after the great financial panic of August, 1857, which disastrously affected all business interests throughout the United States. These very low offers, being under the price of $1.25 per acre required for valid sales of government lands, were not accepted.

THE DIOCESE OF MINNESOTA ORGANIZED.

Meanwhile, in another field, an event of moment had occurred. Bishop Kemper, whose name will long be remembered in our early history, had called a meeting of the clergy and parishes in Christ Church, St. Paul, to organize a diocese. In this council, convening September 16th, 1857, Chaplain Manney was a leading member. The canons there adopted were largely framed by his hand. Fort Ripley should be remembered as the place where these were thought out, under which for nearly forty years the Episcopal Church did its work in Minnesota.

FOUNDING OF SCHOOLS AT FARIBAULT.

On Tuesday, September 24th, of the week following the convention, Breck, Manney, and Peake, went to Faribault; and on Wednesday they made a reconnaissance of the town and vicinity with a view to select a site for schools. When Mr. Breck came to St. Paul in 1850, it was for the purpose of educational work in general, and theological in particular. His original design was never given up when he went into the Indian country. Accordingly, on the breaking up of the mission at Leech lake, he

decided to resume the educational work. The Mission of St. Columba, at Gull lake, was never abandoned, but had a continuous existence under the Rev. E. Steele Peake, who had gone there in 1856, on the removal of Mr. Breck to Leech lake; and, though for a time obscured, it was the germ of the present fruits of Bishop Whipple's work among the Ojibways under the Rev. J. A. Gilfillan.

September 25th, 1857, the Associate Mission was formed at Faribault by these three clergy, to embrace the white and the red field for religious and educational work. The Rev. Mr. Peake was to labor among the red men, and Messrs. Breck and Manney were to reside at Faribault.

DISTURBANCES AT CROW WING AND LITTLE FALLS.

The events of the spring of 1858 confirmed the good judgment of the Chaplain as to the necessity of a standing body of soldiers at Fort Ripley. On the 18th of March a detachment had to be sent to Crow Wing to aid the civil authority in making arrests and keeping the peace. Some unprincipled men, inflamed by liquor, made an attempt to burn the store of Mr. Beaulieu, threatening to shoot any who should attempt to put the fire out. Those in charge fired on the incendiaries, killing one and wounding another. The next day another alarm came, that some scoundrels had gone to Crow Wing with the intention of burning the town that night, and that life was in danger. Soon after Divine Service on Sunday, March 21st, a messenger arrived from Major Herriman, the Indian agent, with a requisition for troops to protect himself and a body of Indians from a set of vagabonds at Crow Wing.

One of the incendiaries, well known in that region as Whiskey Jack, and an accomplice, having been brought to the fort, the justice and others interested came down from Crow Wing to hold a court for the examination of the prisoners, in order to their commitment. Beaulieu, the complainant, requested the chaplain to act as his counsel.

This notable court was held March 23rd, at the house of Mr. S. Baldwin Olmstead, who lived across the river. It was composed of Justice McGillis, the prisoner Whiskey Jack, with his hands tied together, in charge of a corporal's guard, Chaplain

Manney as prosecuting attorney, and Lieut. Spencer, counsel for the defendant. As the justice could not write well, he was assisted by Surgeon Hassan of the Post. The witnesses were Shoff, Scofield, and Giggy. The complainant, on whose oath the arrest had been made, was Clement Beaulieu. Whiskey Jack was found guilty enough to be committed. So, in default of bail, he was given over into the keeping of the constable (but, there being none, the justice had to make one for the occasion), to be committed to jail, and, as there was no jail in those parts, Whiskey Jack was brought back to the garrison in charge of the guard and was confined in the guard house. Such was the administration of justice, according to the law of good sense, if not quite in accordance with established order.

Close upon the heels of this followed an event of a more serious nature. An Ojibway captive woman, who had escaped from the Sioux, arrived at the fort under a military escort from Fort Snelling, having previously been sent from Fort Ridgely by Colonel Abercrombie. A little later, three Ojibways were surprised by a party of Sioux while on Long Prairie river, and one scalp was taken. During the night of the 23d of March, 1858, about midnight, Sheriff Pugh brought a dispatch from Little Falls, that 200 Sioux were in the vicinity. Major Patten sent an order to Crow Wing for Lieut. Spencer to return immediately with his detachment, and issued a thousand ball cartridges to the citizens of Little Falls, at the same time sending out scouts. The lumbermen, hearing the alarm, came into Crow Wing, and the Indians left the sugar camps and came in for fear of the Sioux.

The report went out that a number of Sioux had crossed the river at Watab on a gorge of ice, in pursuit, undoubtedly, of the Chippeway captive. They were one day behind her. She had reached the mission of the Rev. Mr. Williamson after a long journey, who immediately carried her to Fort Ridgely, whence she was forwarded to Fort Ripley in safety. It was a bold attempt on the part of the Sioux to re-capture the escaped Ojibway woman. It was fortunate they did not intercept her, as she was under the escort of United States troops, and such an event would have resulted in an Indian war.

Even as late as the 3d of May, while planting in his garden, the chaplain was called in by an alarm from the bugle. The

cause was the proximity of a large body of Sioux. Guns were taken to the block-house, water was drawn, and men were quartered there ready for an emergency. News also came that seven Ojibway scalps had been taken at Swan River the night before, and that the Sioux were robbing and committing more depredations in the neighborhood of the Platte river. Thus it seemed as if the Post was pretty well surrounded by hostile Indians.

FOUNDING OF FORT ABERCROMBIE.

Hardly had the fears of the people subsided, when an order was received early in July to abandon Fort Ripley, and to establish a post near Graham's Point on the Red river. The same mail, however, brought a telegram order for Major Patten's company to proceed to the Red river as noted, and for the artillery company to remain at Fort Ripley. This was delayed by the departure of Major Patten below, who seems to have gone for further instructions, returning, however, no wiser than before. On his return Major Patten stated that he had peremptory orders to send company L to the Red river in place of company K, but that he should order his own company.

Lieut. Conrad was sent to examine the condition of the road as far as the crossing of the Crow Wing, who reported that the road was not impassable. A military road had been laid out by George H. Belden, civil engineer, extending from Ripley to the site of this new post, which was called Fort Abercrombie. Major Patten started on August 8th, and arrived at his destination on the 27th. The work of construction was pushed rapidly forward, so that by the middle of November the men were in comfortable quarters.

THE LAST YEAR OF THE CHAPLAINCY.

The summer of 1858 was one to be remembered in other ways. The winter had been unusually mild with its rains and pleasant days. March was drawing to a close with its showers, when suddenly the season seemed reversed, and instead of April showers January snows succeeded, with little promise of May flowers. As late as the 15th of May ice formed, a quarter of an inch thick; and on the 11th of June another frost singed potatoes, and killed tomatoes where it had a chance. Squash and pumpkin

vines were injured on the night of the 12th of July; and on the 28th of August those which previous frosts had spared were entirely killed. It was one of those phenomenal seasons which come rarely in our northern clime to blight the hopes of the husbandman. However, the Chaplain kept feast on the Fourth of July, with green peas for dinner, sending portions also to his friends in the garrison.

The winter of 1858-9 and its varied changes passed, with enough of incident to break the monotony of garrison life on the frontier. The cheerful hearth dispelled the unusual cold; a marriage or two were included among social events; and there were the coming and going of officers and visitors, and the weekly service and sermon.

Near the close of January, 1859, the Chaplain received a letter from Mr. Breck, expressing a desire that he should join him in the educational work already established at Faribault. Such had been the understanding in 1857 when the Associate Mission was formed. After due consideration, Mr. Manney decided to go as early in the spring as possible. He did not deem it best to resign his chaplaincy at this time, but obtained leave of absence for four months. Leaving the fort about the middle of May, he reached Faribault on the 23d. His resignation dates from about the 1st of November, 1859, having held the office for a period of eight years.

DR. MANNEY'S WORK IN THE FARIBAULT SCHOOLS.

The work of Dr. Manney at Faribault was to instruct the candidates for the ministry, and to hold religious services on Sunday at some one of several stations within a radius of twenty-five miles. He heard recitations in systematic divinity, ecclesiastical history, the Greek Testament, and such other subjects as were required for entrance to the ministry. His varied learning and aptness to teach admirably fitted him for his work in a young institution. The several departments of the Faribault schools at that early day were included under the title of the Bishop Seabury University. These were primary, grammar, high school, and theological, for which there was a single building of wood, of simple pretensions.

Dr. Manney received his classes in his study. This contained well filled book-cases of carefully selected works by the

old English divines, which must have presented a singular contrast to the wild scenes of frontier life. His manner in the classroom was easy and familiar, yet his pupils felt they were sitting at the feet of a master.

He often preached in the Chapel at Faribault, where he was listened to with marked attention. For five years he was the only instructor in theology. Besides his scholastic duties, he was of very great assistance in the organization of the Bishop Seabury Mission, and the articles of incorporation were drawn by his hand. It is to the rare combination of men like Bishop Whipple, J. Lloyd Breck, and Solon W. Manney, that the schools at Faribault largely owe their success.

In 1862, Dr. Manney was elected a delegate to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, when his influence was felt as a member of the Committee on Legislation. He also sat as a member in the Council of 1865, and again in 1868. While in attendance at the latter convention, alarming symptoms of disease unexpectedly appeared, which rapidly assumed a more aggravated character. A painful operation after his return failed to arrest the progress of the disease, and, after a short and painful illness, in the full vigor of his mind he passed away January 19th, 1869, at the age of fifty-five years.

ORDINATION OF ENMEGAHBOWH IN FARIBAULT.

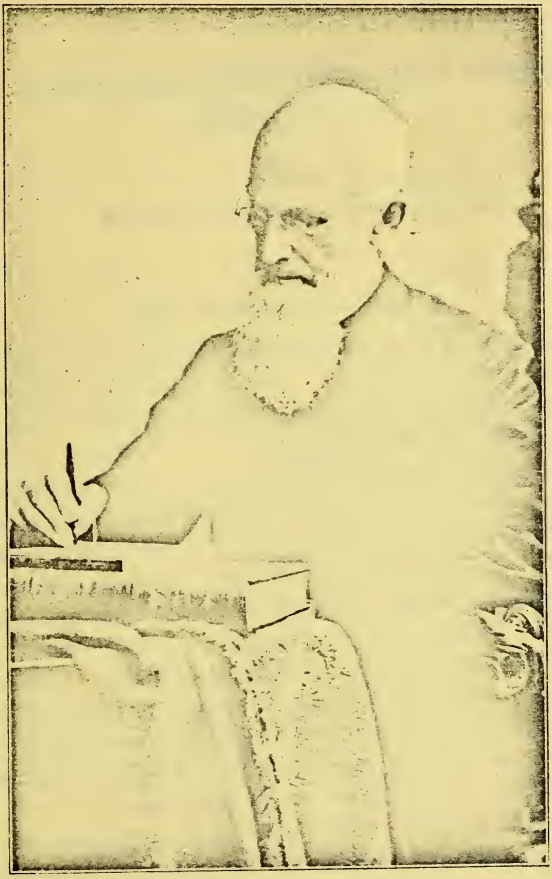
As reference has been made to Enmegahbowh in the course of this paper, we add an acount of his ordination which took place at Faribault on Sunday, July 3d, 1859, with which the Diary of Dr. Manney almost immediately closes. The event is also interesting as the last official act of Bishop Kemper in Minnesota. [Enmegahbowh labored as a most devoted and useful missionary among the Ojibways in the northern part of this state until his death at White Earth, Minn., June 12, 1902.]

Faribault was in the country of the Sioux, some of whom had their lodges near the residence of Mr. Alexander Faribault. The memory of the late feuds was still fresh in mind, and to penetrate so far into the country where an enemy might be met at any time was an event which at least suggested apprehensions of danger. The congregation had already assembled in the Chapel,—the Bishop and clergy in the chancel, and Enmegahbowh, habited in his surplice, with Manitowab and William Su-

perior on either side, all three Ojibways, when above a dozen Sioux came in to witness the novel spectacle and to get a sight of the Ojibways who had ventured to penetrate so far into the country of their hereditary foes.

In the afternoon a conference was held in which the Ojibways addressed the Sioux through an interpreter. Mr. Alexander Faribault was present and assisted as interpreter for the Sioux. Among other things, Manitowab declared that since he had become a Christian the spirit of hatred had given place to that of love to all men, so that he looked upon the Sioux as brothers and not as enemies.

In the evening the Ojibways and Sioux again met at the house of Mr. Breck, when the Sioux made answer, through their chief, to the addresses of Manitowab and William. Thus ended an interesting day in the history of the relations of these tribes. The children of both Ojibways and Sioux were received into the mission school at Faribault, lived under the same roof, and played together on the mission grounds, adjacent to those of Mr. Faribault, where the Sioux and their lodges might always be seen.



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EARLY EPISCOPAL CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN MINNESOTA.*

BY REV. GEORGE C. TANNER.

THE FIRST SUNDAY SCHOOL.

In her book entitled "Memories of Fort Snelling," Mrs. Charlotte O. Van Cleve writes: "Another of my earliest recollections is the Sunday School, established by Mrs. Colonel Snelling and my mother . . . They gathered the children together on Sabbath afternoons in the basement room of the commanding officer's quarters, and held a service, with the aid of the Episcopal prayer book, both of them being devout members of that branch of the church." And she adds, "There are good grounds for believing this the first Sunday School organized in this Northwestern region, perhaps the first northwest of Detroit."

As Mrs. Van Cleve speaks of moving into the fort in 1821, and of leaving the "beloved" fort in 1827, the opening of this Sunday School was probably about the time of the earlier date. Thus we are indebted to Mrs. Josiah Snelling and Mrs. Nathan Clark for the earliest attempt to establish the institutions of the Christian religion in what was then a remote wilderness. We have no further account of the fortunes of this Sunday School. No doubt it was kept up while these devout women remained, though varying with the *personnel* of the garrison.

REV. E. G. GEAR, CHAPLAIN OF FORT SNELLING.

In the year 1838, the Rev. Ezekiel Gilbert Gear, missionary pastor of the Episcopal church at Galena, Ill., received the appointment of chaplain at Fort Snelling. At the earnest solicita-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 12, 1902.

tion of General Brooke and the officers of the post, he decided to accept this position. He was then serving as missionary of the Domestic Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church. In his letter of resignation to the Board he said, "A considerable settlement has already been commenced in the neighborhood of the fort; and it is the understanding that I am at liberty to extend my labors among them."

This letter having been read at a meeting of the Committee in New York, his resignation was accepted; and the Precinct of St. Peter's, Iowa,—for so the region round about Fort Snelling was designated,—was adopted as a station, with the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Rev. E. G. Gear be appointed missionary in the Precinct of St. Peter, Iowa, and that the Committee accede to his kind proposal to act without a salary.

It will be seen from the tone of his letter, that Mr. Gear did not accept this position as a sinecure, but for positive good. Born and reared in Connecticut, and serving in the ministry under Bishop Hobart in western New York, where he had become familiar with missionary work among the Six Nations, genial as a companion in social life, and commanding respect for his strength of character and excellence of purpose, "an old Roman," as Bishop Whipple once called him, few men could have been found to fill the position more usefully and acceptably than the Rev. E. G. Gear.

At a meeting of the Domestic Committee held in September, 1838, it was stated that there was not a single clergyman of the Episcopal Church in the Territory of Iowa, which then included Minnesota west of the Missisippi, and that only a few occasional services had been held in this extensive region. The population of the country afterward set off as the Territory of Minnesota might have been five hundred, perhaps not half that number. These were the officers and soldiers at Fort Snelling, Indian agents and their families, and the agents and employees of the American Fur Company.

It was already late in the season when Mr. Gear set out for his remote home, traveling first to Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien. From this point the journey was to be made by sledges

on the ice of the Mississippi river. Here he met with a severe injury, which kept him at Fort Crawford all winter. It was not until spring that he reached Fort Snelling, where he reported for duty in April, 1839.

In a letter bearing date of July 27th, he wrote: "The whole number of souls inside the walls, including officers and families, is about 200, and as many more are expected in the fall. The American Fur Company's establishment and two or three other families, and a few French and half-breeds, embrace all the civilized population of the neighborhood." The prospect of usefulness was not greater than he had reason to expect. "The officers and their families, many of the soldiers, and a considerable proportion of those outside the fort, attended Divine Service regularly; and the responses, at first feeble and indistinct, are made with much solemnity and propriety. I have not yet administered the Communion;—there are no communicants outside my own family."

The first thing which naturally attracted his attention was the conditon of the Indians around him. He spoke of them as miserable and degraded. There were three or four missionary establishments a short distance away, under the direction of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Swiss Protestants. Little, however, had thus far been effected among these people. "Recently," he wrote in one of his letters, "a great battle has been fought between the Sioux who live near the fort and the Chippeways who live farther north, in which about two hundred have been killed. The Sioux have just returned with the scalps of their enemies and commenced the horrid drama peculiar on this occasion."

During the summer of 1839 Mr. Gear continued to officiate twice on Sundays, until cold weather. Attendance was voluntary, on account of the size of the room. There was no chapel. Many of the soldiers, with some from outside the garrison, were regular attendants and joined in the responses. Christmas Day he celebrated the Holy Communion for the first time,—the first celebration, in all probability, of the Lord's Supper by a clergyman of the Episcopal Church in the territory now included in Minnesota. Five persons, one a soldier, received the sacrament.

Three children had been baptized, and two marriages solemnized. He had also gathered into a Sunday School the dozen or so of children within the garrison.

The condition of the Indians continued to excite his deepest sympathy. "If a man of the proper cast could be found," he wrote to the Gospel Messenger, "to live among them,—a man capable of enduring hardships and privations like a good soldier, and apt to learn their language, and meet to teach them by example as well as by precept, much might be done."

During the latter part of the summer of 1840, the removal of the Winnebagoes required the absence of three-fourths of the garrison, so that the number attending the services was smaller than usual. In his report he said, "At the last Communion fourteen partook, a majority being Methodists, Presbyterians, and Swiss Protestants, connected with the missions for the Sioux and Chippeways." Among these was the Rev. John Johnson Enmegahbowh, an Ojibway from Canada, who afterward became a member of the mission of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck to the Ojibways at Gull lake, and was a clergyman of the Episcopal Church.

A small settlement had been made at the Falls of the St. Croix, a hundred miles distant. With the exception of a few scattered families, this was the only settlement of whites above Prairie du Chien, outside of Fort Snelling. He could not, however, visit so remote a point.

In 1843 we hear him again pleading for the Indians with his wonted earnestness. The Sioux and Ojibways, having prosecuted war for the last four or five years with savage ferocity, had, through the intervention of the officers of the government, made a treaty of peace. The proposition came from the Ojibways, and their principal chief, Hole-in-the-Day, declared his wish to live like white men. He called upon Father Gear, and in a long conversation stated his wishes, and asked that a clergyman of this Church might be sent among them. This Mr. Gear promised to make known to the Church and to communicate to him the result.

Referring again to Enmegahbowh, Father Gear adds: "A native Chippeway, well qualified to act as interpreter, catechist, schoolmaster, translator, and teacher of the language, is on the ground willing and anxious to co-operate with us. He is an ed-

ucated man and a Christian. He is decidedly of the opinion that our services are better calculated to impress and interest the Indians than any other. I gave him a Prayer Book when I first became acquainted with him, and he informs me that he has translated some portions of it into the language and could readily prepare it for the press."

The year 1843 marks the first visit of Bishop Kemper to the territory now known as Minnesota. Of this visit the Bishop says: "Having unexpectedly received an invitation to go to St. Peter's, as the neighborhood at the mouth of the St. Peter's or Minnesota river was then designated, I determined, if possible, to embrace the very favorable opportunity that was offered me through the kindness of Captain Throckmorton of the steamer General Brookes, to visit the chaplain of Fort Snelling, the Rev. E. G. Gear, who is connected with my jurisdiction. Having made all necessary arrangements while the boat was at Galena, I ascended the upper Mississippi, spent some delightful hours with the chaplain, found him comfortably situated and usefully employed, and obtained some useful information concerning the northern tribes of the aborigines, which may be of use to the Church at a future day." This visit is noted in the Diary of the Bishop as taking place August 26th, 1843.

Amid such surroundings Father Gear held the first services of the Church. From his own record it appears that he held a service in St. Paul and preached, December 24th, 1845. In a letter written June 30th, 1850, the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck speaks of the service of the chaplain of Fort Snelling at St. Paul five years before. Mr. Breck says: "This was the first English Service in St. Paul. . . . From that time there were more or less of the services of the Church, although at times they were interrupted for six months together . . . But it must be borne in mind that only within the last year or two have settlers come in."

The number of settlers up to 1850 was estimated at from fifteen to eighteen hundred. This service held by Father Gear at St. Paul was in addition to his morning and evening services at the fort, with his school duties during the week.

It is also probable that the service which he held at the Falls of St. Anthony on February 5th, 1848, was the first religious service in that place. The village of St. Anthony was not even

platted. We do not find record of any service prior to that of Dr. Gear. There could have been but few families there. The first school was opened more than a year later; there was no post office and no mail; nor had any religious society been organized.

REV. E. A. GREENLEAF IN THE ST. CROIX VALLEY.

About the year 1840 the valley of the St. Croix began to attract the attention of immigrants interested in lumbering. In the autumn of 1843 John McKusick from Maine, and Elam Greeley from New Hampshire, came and selected the site of Stillwater as their home. The first frame building was erected in the spring of 1844. April 1st of the following year, the Rev. E. A. Greenleaf was appointed missionary of the Domestic Board in the St. Croix valley, and held his first service in Stillwater in June, 1846, in a house on Main street. In one of his letters, as follows, he described the religious condition of the place.

> I found the people wholly destitute of religious teaching . . . No Protestant minister in all this region . . . The people had very little regard for anything of a religious nature . . . profanity, gambling and drinking . . . no school of any description in all the country; . . . I have been obliged to officiate in private houses, and in such rooms as we could obtain. . . . I have nothing beside my stipend, except a trifle from the people occasionally, . . . have received only seventeen dollars for the last six months.

During the year 1846 Mr. Greenleaf baptized three children, and on Christmas day administered for the first time the Lord's Supper, to four communicants. In June, 1847, he solemnized the marriage of John McKusick and Phoebe Greeley, according to the rites of the Prayer Book. It was a union broken after a few months by the passing away of the young wife, over whose remains the burial office was said by the chaplain of Fort Snelling, who came in a heavy snowstorm in March, 1848, over the trackless prairie, to bring the consolations of the Church to the desolate home.

At his first visit to the territory which is now Minnesota, in 1843, of a few hours only, Bishop Kemper had performed no episcopal duty. May 7th, 1848, he made his first visitation, on which occasion he confirmed four persons at Stillwater, Mrs. Hannah Greeley, mother of Elam Greeley, and her daughters,

Service C., and Sarah C. Greeley, and Mrs. Elizabeth J. G. Harris, whose beautiful life was long remembered in this home of her adoption. Of this visit in 1848 the Bishop wrote:

Two or three days were passed with the excellent and faithful pioneer missionary, the Rev. E. A. Greenleaf, on the St. Croix. The place is new and small, but may be of considerable importance, as I learn it will be included in one of the new Northwestern Territories which are to be organized by the present Congress. I am therefore exceedingly anxious that Mr. Greenleaf should remain there, and be properly sustained, for he was the first, and, I believe, is yet the only resident minister in the place. I preached twice on Sunday, and confirmed four persons. There are some settlements in this upper country which I earnestly desired to visit; but my time was limited in consequence of the approaching conventions of Indiana and Wisconsin; besides, I had made various appointments in Iowa, and the boats were as yet few and very uncertain. I was therefore compelled to take the first opportunity to descend the Mississippi.

In a report of Mr. Greenleaf made in 1847, we find him officiating alternately at Stillwater and Prairie Farm, about four miles distant, and one Sunday at the mouth of the lake St. Croix, where Prescott and Point Douglas are now located; and at another time at Fort Snelling, at the funeral of a son of the chaplain. He reports one baptism, three burials, and three celebrations of the Lord's Supper. The number of communicants in his cure was now seven.

In his last report of his work, for the quarter ending, probably, July 1st, 1848, he had read prayers and preached eight times at the Falls of the St. Croix, four times at St. Paul, twice at Cottage Grove, sixteen times at Prairie Farm, and about twenty times at Stillwater. He had baptized one child, and buried four persons. The missionary wrote hopefully of the future. The villages at the Falls of the St. Croix and of St. Anthony, as also St. Paul and Stillwater, were rapidly growing. No church had yet been built, and the services at Stillwater were held in a hall. The missionary had begun a house, partly to shelter his family, and partly to afford a room for a school and for the services of the church, being resolved to add teaching to his other work. The house referred to was destroyed by a hurricane almost as soon as completed. This with other circumstances compelled him to resign his work and to remove to another field of labor, after which no services of this church were held in Stillwater until the coming of the Associate Mission in 1850.

EARLIEST EPISCOPAL SERVICES IN ST. PAUL.

On the removal of Mr. Greenleaf, Father Gear at Fort Snelling became the sole representative of his church in the Territory, or, rather, the "Precinct of St. Peter's." The early Episcopal services in St. Paul, begun by Father Gear, as before noted, in 1845, were held in the house of Henry Jackson. This was open to all ministers "in good and regular standing," who always found a welcome hospitality beneath his roof. These services were advertised from house to house, as was customary in rural districts and hamlets. The printing press had not yet arrived.

The first public building to be erected was the little schoolhouse, which is thus described:

> A little log hovel, covered with bark and chinked with mud, previously used as a blacksmith shop, ten by twelve feet. On three sides of the interior of this humble cabin, pegs were driven into the logs, upon which boards were laid for seats. A seat reserved for visitors was made by placing one end of a plank between cracks in the logs, and the other end upon a chair. A cross-legged, rickety table in the center, and a hen's nest in the corner, completed the furniture.

In 1848 St. Paul was just emerging from a collection of birch-roof cabins of early traders and voyageurs. Here and there might be seen a frame house of some pretensions. The population had increased from 250 to 300, in view of the prospect that it might be mentioned in the organic act of the territory as the capital. Such was the condition of things when the service of the Book of Common Prayer became a fixed fact in "the upper town" in St. Paul. The interest grew under the ministrations of Father Gear, so that at Christmas, 1849, divine worship was held in the new schoolhouse, decorated for the occasion. The services also became more frequent, and were held every alternate Sunday. Measures were being taken to organize a parish and build a church. Father Gear continued to officiate until the coming of Mr. Breck and his associates, Wilcoxson and Merrick. His last appointment was for Sunday, June 30th, 1850.

FOUNDING THE ASSOCIATE MISSION.

The following account is taken from the diary of the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson.

On Whitsunday, May 19th, 1850. I preached my farewell in Christ Church, Harwinton, Conn. . . . On Saturday I went to New York, where I spent Trinity Sunday with the Rev. Messrs. J. L. Breck and J. A. Merrick. [The three met by appointment in the Church of the Holy Communion, where, at their request, the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, the rector, organized the "Associate Mission for Minnesota." The members agreed to live and labor together for three years, without any additional social ties.] On Wednesday, May 29th, we started for the West; and we reached the residence of our beloved Bishop Kemper on Tuesday, the 4th of June. Here we spent about two weeks. . . . The third Sunday after Trinity we spent at Nashotah [Wis.], where I took part in the farewell service of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck, late president of that institution. Tuesday, June 18th, we left Nashotah, taking leave of our beloved Bishop and other friends who had become endeared to us by their courteous and Christian behavior. We left Milwaukee on Wednesday morning, reached Janesville in the evening, and arrived at Galena Friday noon. We spent the fourth Sunday after Trinity at Prairie La Crosse, where we had a private service and Holy Communion on a bluff which we called Altar Rock, and a public service at the Landing, at the house of a German named Levy.

The next day being the festival of St. John Baptist, the members of the mission procured a bateau in which they paddled themselves across the river, and proceeding through the tangled vines and brushwood, at a point above La Crosse, held their first service on Minnesota soil beneath a spreading elm. The Rev. Mr. Merrick preached; and the wildness of the place reminded the party of "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." In the afternoon another service was held in the village, at which they baptized one child* and gave the Holy Communion to four Lutherans.

On Tuesday a steamboat was descried, breasting the strong current of the river, and the party embarked for their new home. Wednesday morning, June 26th, they came in sight of St. Paul, and as the Nominee (for so the boat was named) was to remain for a few hours, they landed and repaired to a spot three quarters of a mile distant, not far from the present capitol; and beneath one of the spreading oaks on the eminence overlooking the valley they celebrated divine service. For daily prayer was the rule of the Mission from its organization, as was also the practice, then rare in the American branch of the Church, of weekly Communion.

After tarrying three or four hours, the Nominee proceeded to Fort Snelling, where they were cordially welcomed by the

*Martha Lucina Amelia, daughter of Herman J. B. Miller and Louisa, his wife, born October 22, 1847.

venerable chaplain. Here they remained for the rest of the week. At this time Mr. Breck does not appear to have selected a place for his work. "With regard to our Mission in Minnesota," he wrote, "we can only say that it will probably take us six or nine months to explore the Territory sufficiently to fix upon a permanent location."

THE LATER WORK OF FATHER GEAR.

The morning of Sunday, June 30th, was passed at the fort, the clergy joining with the chaplain in the services of the chapel. In the afternoon the Dean of the Mission and Mr. Wilcoxson accompanied Father Gear to St. Paul, where a respectable number of people were assembled, a few of whom were members of the church, to welcome the coming of those who were to give them regular ministrations. Morning service at the fort, a drive to St. Paul in such conveyance as was afforded at that early day, another service at the fort in the evening, all this under infirmity of body, shows the tireless activity with which Father Gear labored on to the end as chaplain, missionary, student, and writer. Mr. Breck wrote:

Rev. Mr. Gear deserves unbounded praise for his self-sacrificing labors here. One fact is well worth recording. The Church has been the first upon the ground, except the Romanists among the half-breeds. This has been the case also at the Falls of St. Anthony. The first English service in St. Paul was celebrated five years ago. And from that time to this there have been more or less of the Church services; although, at times, they have been interrupted for six months together.

In his History of St. Paul, Williams says that the first Protestant service was held by the Rev. Mr. Hurlburt in the autumn of 1844; the second by Mr. Greenleaf in 1846; and the third by Father Gear the same year. Whichever of the two statements we accept, the fact that the Rev. Mr. Gear was in the immediate neighborhood of St. Paul, which even in 1850 gave a census of only 1,300 souls, entitles him to be regarded as the first pioneer Protestant clergyman permanently located in this region. And this is enhanced by the fact that his acceptance of the chaplaincy was conditioned also upon his being considered a missionary of the Board wherever opportunity opened for work which did not conflict with his duties at the Post.

In his report to the General Convention of 1850, Bishop Kemper thus speaks of the services of Mr. Gear: "The Rev.

E. G. Gear has resided for some years as chaplain to the garrison at Fort Snelling, and has occasionally communicated to the Church information of great interest concerning the Red River settlements and the aborigines."

Indeed, his early interest and efforts in behalf of the red men entitle Father Gear to be called the Father of Indian Missions of this church in Minnesota. So great, also, was his interest in the work of the Associate Mission in St. Paul that he is to be reckoned almost as one of their number. And a part of the ground now held in trust by the Minnesota Church Foundation was given by him.

As there were no Church people in St. Paul during the early ministrations of Mr. Gear, he usually brought the interpreter along with him to make the responses. On one occasion, after the hymn from the Prayer Book was announced, a negro who had occasionally attended service at the fort struck up his favorite melody, regardless of the rubric relating to the kind of music to be used in the Church. But no blame was ever laid to the charge of the chaplain from this accidental violation of church rubrics.

The first service of the Associate Mission in St. Paul was held in the schoolhouse on the bluff fronting the river. At the close, the venerable pioneer arose to give notice that the next appointment would be filled by others. Leaning upon the desk, he spoke of the heartfelt satisfaction it gave him that in the future the services of the Church would be held more frequently by those who would go in and out among them from day to day. Deeply affected, he took leave of the congregation, which from this time would have organic unity, in the words of the canticle of the Even Song, "Praise the Lord, O my soul."

It is due to this first clergyman of this church on the soil of Minnesota to add a few words more. He was a frequent contributor to the Gospel Messenger; and a volume might be filled with his letters. He was a frequent visitor at the mission house in St. Paul. Friday was the day usually selected for this visit, as on Saturday the brethren were away on journeys to meet their Sunday appointments. At the request of Mr. Breck, he laid the corner stone of Christ Church, St. Paul. He preached the first sermon in the Church of the Holy Trinity at

St. Anthony, the first edifice for religious worship erected at that place. It is probable that his service at Shakopee on August 3d, 1853, was the first church service held there.

When Mr. Breck decided to enter the Indian field, the letters of Father Gear to the Gospel Messenger did very much to disseminate information in regard to the Indian missions of the Mother Church of England. He was in frequent communication with the bishop and clergy of Rupert's Land, who were also his guests *en route* to and from England. He was the first to direct the attention of Enmegahbowh to the use of the Prayer Book, and was the means of bringing the Associate Mission to Minnesota.

He served the Church in many positions of honor. He was the president of the first standing committee appointed by Bishop Kemper at the first Convocation, held November 4th, 1854, and was chairman of the committee appointed to draft a constitution and canons in 1856. He was a delegate to the General Convention in 1859, and was an active member of the council which elected our first bishop.

After the abandonment of Fort Snelling in 1858, he continued to officiate for the families remaining there and at Mendota, until his appointment as chaplain at Fort Ripley in the spring of 1860. In 1867 he was retired from the service, and soon after removed to Minneapolis, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place October 13th, 1873. At the time of his death he had passed the age of fourscore, was the senior presbyter of the Church in the United States, and had resided in Minnesota thirty-four years.

ST. PAUL SELECTED AS A CENTER FOR MISSION WORK.

Mr. Breck and his associates decided to make St. Paul the center of their educational and missionary work. Early in the week following their arrival, about the beginning of July, 1850, a parcel of ground was purchased; and a tent was pitched there a week later for a temporary shelter. One of the number wrote:

> In the early part of the week we purchased two acres of land [which was afterward increased to three] at fifty dollars per acre, three-fourths of a mile back of the village of St. Paul, on the bluffs in the rear of the town; and the next week we pitched a tent upon it, kindly loaned by the commandant of the fort, in which tent we lived two or three weeks. We

contracted with a carpenter to build at once a frame cottage twelve feet by seventeen, at a cost of one hundred and fifty-one dollars, furnishing everything himself. We now have a shanty enclosed, in which we live, studying, working, eating, and worshipping in the lower part and sleeping in the attic.

We have just cause for gratitude that a kind Providence has watched over us and conducted us in safety through so long a journey. And now every day brings some new comfort. Our friends here at the Fort and from the East are sending useful articles for our table and beds, and we ourselves are enabled to furnish many things with our own hands.

Having made the arrangements of the first few days at their future home in St. Paul, the three clergy walked to Stillwater on Wednesday, July 3, 1850, to arrange for a service the following Lord's Day. It was necessary to ford the numerous swollen streams barefoot; but the journey of twenty miles was safely accomplished. The Rev. Mr. Merrick, being short in stature, remained at the settlement, while the other two returned to St. Paul. Meanwhile young Holcombe, a student from Nashotah, remained in charge of the tent. The dean and the professor spent Sunday, July 7th, in Stillwater, also giving a service in the afternoon at Hudson on the east side of the St. Croix. On their return to Stillwater in the evening, they lost their way and were obliged to spend the night under an umbrella. With their last match they lighted a fire to keep the wild beasts away and to dry their damp clothing, and took turns in tending their camp fire, holding the umbrella and watching against any approaching danger.

Services were thus begun in St. Paul, Stillwater, and St. Anthony (now East Minneapolis), the three places that contained fully half the entire white population of Minnesota. By July 26th they had performed divine service in all the important places in the Territory, and had visited several isolated neighborhoods and families. In a letter written by Father Gear we find the following extract:

The Rev. Mr. Breck and his associates have purchased three acres of land situated on a hill covered with a beautiful oak grove, about half a mile from the river, and commanding a view of the town and an extensive and magnificent prospect in all directions. Here they have commenced a small house, the interior of which will be furnished with their own hands. In the meantime they have been living in a tent kindly lent them by Cap-

tain Kirkham of this fort. They cook and eat their frugal meals, and wash their own clothes, under the shade of the trees.

In a letter dated August 13th, 1850, Mr. Breck wrote:

We have (under God) been permitted to establish stations for divine service at the following places: St. Paul, Stillwater on the St. Croix, Cottage Grove, the Falls of St. Anthony, Point Douglas, Willow River settlement, Prairie La Crosse. We propose visiting the Falls of the St. Croix this week, distant from St. Paul fifty miles; and in September we hope to go up the Mississippi one hundred miles to the Sauk rapids, exploring the intermediate country. All our journeys are performed on foot. We are unable to keep a horse, much less to purchase one.

The total distance traveled on foot during the year, as given in the diary of Mr. Wilcoxson, was about three thousand miles.

At the earliest day possible, the subject of church building began to receive attention. A meeting of those interested was held at the house of H. A. Lambert, August 1st, to decide upon the expediency of building a church in St. Paul. The Rev. J. L. Breck presided, and Judge Lambert was chosen secretary. A statement was made that Lot 14 of Block 23 (on Cedar street, between Third and Fourth streets) would be donated for this purpose. The location was accepted and a committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Charles F. Tracy and H. A. Lambert to ascertain how much could be raised and to report on the Monday evening following, at the same hour and place. At the latter meeting Mr. Lambert reported, in behalf of the committee, that six hundred dollars and upwards might be raised. It was then resolved to obtain estimates of the cost of a church 20 by 40 feet in size, with a tower and chancel. Messrs. H. A. Lambert, George C. Nicols, and J. E. Fullerton, were appointed a building committee.

At a meeting of the committee August 22d, plans were presented with estimates; and two days later the committee decided to accept a plan of a church to cost $1,225. The same month the congregation met and organized the parish of Christ Church by the election of H. A. Lambert and J. T. Halstead, wardens; and Messrs. E. H. Halstead, B. W. Lott, Charles F. Tracy, Henry Tracy, Charles R. Conway, R. R. Nelson, and J. E. Fullerton, vestrymen. J. E. Fullerton was chosen treasurer, and B. W. Lott clerk.

Thursday, September 5th, was appointed as the day for laying the corner stone of the new church. All the clergy of the

Church in the Territory were present, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. Gear, Breck, Wilcoxson, and Merrick. The procession was formed at the hour appointed at the residence of Judge Lambert, on Cedar street, adjoining the site. The 112th Psalm was recited while approaching the spot. At the request of the clergy of the Mission, the service was read by the Rev. E. G. Gear, who also laid the corner stone with the name of Christ Church. A box containing a copy of the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer, with contemporary documents, was deposited in the corner stone; and an address was delivered by the Rev. J. Austen Merrick. The building was to be in the early pointed style, with a spire fifty-two feet in height, surmounted with a cross. The dimensions were twenty by fifty-five feet, including chancel and tower. Additions were made at a later day, which did not improve its symmetry. This first edifice continued to be used by the parish of Christ Church until the rectorship of the Rev. S. Y. McMasters, D.D., when it was superseded by the present structure of stone.

About the middle of August, a journey of exploration was undertaken to the settlements up the St. Croix, with a view to establishing another chain of mission stations. The points visited included Arcola Mills, Marine Mills, and the Falls of the St. Croix. A part of the route lay through a dense forest, with no habitation for many miles. In the morning the travelers were drenched with water from the overhanging boughs. At noontide the sting of flies was an annoyance, and the eventide brought out an innumerable swarm of mosquitoes to add to their inconvenience. All this was repaid by the hearty welcome extended by the pioneer wherever they went, whether in the log cabin or in the camp of the lumberman. And as a result of the interest awakened by this journey, we find the lumbermen's library provided for the winter logging camp.

The *personnel* of the three men constituting the St. Paul Mission is worthy our notice.

James Lloyd Breck, the founder of this work, was of honored ancestry. His uncle, the Hon. Samuel Breck of Philadelphia, in a letter to a friend, said, "I have seen at my father's house assembled in a social way the three princes of Orleans, one of whom became King Louis Philippe, Talleyrand, and his inseparable companion, Beaumez, Volney, and other distinguished

French noblemen." To such antecedents young Breck added the best of early advantages. His education was in the school of Dr. Muhlenberg. In such an atmosphere his natural gifts unfolded and strengthened, and eight years of residence in the wilds of Wisconsin could not eradicate the courtesy native to his character. Nor were the men associated with him less marked in their character. Merrick, the scholar, too early called, gave to the Mission his richness of intellectual culture; while Wilcoxson, a type of the self-made American, persevering and patient, added an element of practical strength to this self-denying work.

It had been the intention of Mr. Breck to visit the region above St. Paul at an early day. It was not, however, until Wednesday, the 9th of October, 1850, that the dean, accompanied by Mr. Wilcoxson, set out on a journey of eighty miles on foot to Sauk Rapids, then a small trading post. It was the Indian Summer of our northern latitude, when there is a softness in the air and the forests have on their most brilliant hues. This visit is fully described by Mr. Breck in one of those charming letters which he so well knew how to write. They reached the settlement about noon on Saturday, and the following day, October 13th, celebrated for the first time divine service in Sauk Rapids, the most northerly settlement in the Territory. Returning they reached home on Wednesday, having traveled a distance of a hundred and seventy miles, and after an absence of a week. It was their purpose to visit this place once in six weeks through the winter; and a second service was held November 17th, at the house of Jeremiah Russell.

Arrangements were already being made for a church at St. Anthony Falls. Early in October a lot was secured, on Second street, between First and Second avenues north, the gift of Messrs. Steele and Russell; and, although there were as yet no communicants, a few were interested in the church. October 30th the corner stone of this second church was laid by the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson, and it was named the Church of the Holy Trinity. This parish, now in East Minneapolis, is the mother church of that city, as Christ Church is of St. Paul.

The method by which Mr. Breck supported his work was unique. There were no church building societies, or other agencies which in our day render the labors of a new field compara-

tively easy. The Domestic Missionary Society, though in existence, did not aid the work of the St. Paul Mission. During his residence in Wisconsin at Nashotah, Mr. Breck's romantic work at so early a day, which was a new venture for the Episcopal Church, had raised up many personal friends, who continued their interest when he came to Minnesota. The entire support of this work came through the daily mail, in amounts varying from the widow's mite upward. And yet it was not a day of princely gifts. Five hundred dollars was a munificent sum, and even this was rare. Occasionally a hundred dollars came for some special purpose. But most often it was but a few dollars, and not unfrequently at a time when the larder needed to be replenished. In the latter emergency Mr. Breck speaks in his letters of the thoughtfulness of the people in St. Paul. It was a principle with him never to make appeals from the pulpit, or to traverse the Church for funds to carry on his work.

Early in December the church in St. Paul was ready for use, and it was formally opened on the second Sunday in Advent. This was the first house of worship of the Episcopal Church in Minnesota. Aside from the general fitness of the name, the following incident will explain why the name of Christ Church was given to it. A generous layman of Christ Church in Philadelphia, the old historic church of Bishop White, proposed that one thousand dollars be placed at the disposal of Mr. Breck, to be applied as he might think best to any object connected with his mission. In acknowledgment Mr. Breck wrote, "We have named our new church Christ Church, and may it become to the West what your own parish, so venerable, of the same name, has been to the East." The first baptism in the new church was that of an adult and three children on the Sunday before Christmas.

Five objects engaged the attention of the Associate Mission: the education of young men for the ministry, the erection of churches, the endowment of the episcopate, the purchase of land for parish glebes, and the creation of a fund for permanent mission buildings. One-half of the contributions received was to be devoted to these objects, while the other half was to be used for present needs. As a matter of history, we give the following extract from a letter written to the Trustees of the Min-

nesota Church Foundation by Mr. Breck, and now on file in their records, kindly given me by Mr. Harvey Officer, secretary of the Board.

Faribault, Minn., 2nd August, 1864.

To the Board of Trustees of the Minnesota Church Foundation.

Gentlemen:—Will you permit me, as the original purchaser of all the real estate save one acre belonging to the Minnesota Church Foundation in and about St. Paul, to lay before you some facts which may better aid you in dispensing this trust. In 1850 I came into the Territory of Minnesota, and with clerical associates located at St. Paul. Of Mr. Guerin we made the first purchase of three acres on the bluff to the rear of St. Paul, and then built the first Mission House. This purchase was made with money given to me in New Haven, Conn., by the Misses Edwards, and by J. K. Sass, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., for the purpose, in their minds and in our own, for a second Nashotah, or an establishment for the education of young men for the ministry.'

. . . The balance of the Mission grounds in St. Paul was as follows: one acre donated by Father Gear, and the two acres on the north purchased from out of the general funds of our Mission.

When Dr. Van Ingen came into the Territory, it was well understood that the educational feature of the Mission property was to be maintained.

When the Minnesota Church Foundation was organized, the same feature obtained equal prominence along with benevolent works of charity and the support of the Episcopate.

. . . I trust the intention of the original donors, as well as that of the first purchasers, will have weight in the final dispositon which shall be made of their lands. My own opinion is that benevolent works of charity were no part of the original design.

Hence the first of the last named objects, viz., Theological Education in the Diocese of Minnesota and the support of the Episcopate, in equal parts, would be just; and thus divided, be blessed of God.

At the beginning of 1851 it appears that the Associate Mission had fifteen stations, in a territory extending from La Crosse, Wisconsin, to Sauk Rapids, and up the St. Croix. The territory west of the Mississippi had not yet been ceded by the Indians. In the six months since their coming here, the clergy had traveled on foot over 3,000 miles, and by boat or carriage 1,600 more,—a total of over 4,600 miles, through a new country, without bridges, over bad roads, and oftentimes with no roads at all.

In the month of February Mr. Breck made a visit to Fort Ripley, or, as it was then known, Fort Gaines. On the evening of the 12th he arrived at Elk River, which had a single log building, where he spent the night. It was not until the third or fourth day that the journey on foot of a hundred and twenty-five

miles was accomplished. The nightfall of Saturday, the 15th, found the missionary at the most remote outpost on the upper Mississippi, where the Rev. Mr. Manney had lately been appointed chaplain, not far from the scene of his future labors among the red men.

It will be of interest to enumerate the points where church work had been begun from St. Paul as a center, at the opening of Lent, 1851, as follows: St. Paul (the upper and lower town), Stillwater, Greeley's Prairie, Point Douglas (Thomas Hetherington's), Cottage Grove, Point Elizabeth, Willow River, Marine, Arcola, Osceola, St. Croix Falls, Red Rock, St. Anthony Falls, Little Canada, Carrington's, Itasca, Sauk Rapids, and Watab, to which must be added La Crosse. Such was the field of the Associate Mission. To meet these appointments, the clergy traveled on foot and in all kinds of weather. "The people were kind beyond their ability," Mr. Breck wrote. Once only had he failed of hospitality, and then, wrapping his Mackinaw blanket around him, he lay down in the school house and enjoyed a night of undisturbed repose. On one occasion Mr. Wilcoxson missed the trail when on his way from Stillwater, and, as he supposes, passed around to the north of White Bear like, reaching the mission somewhat later than usual.

On Thursday of Easter week, 1852, it was resolved at a meeting of the Vestry to place the spiritual direction of Christ Church, St. Paul, under the Associate Mission until circumstances should require a different arrangement. A letter was written to be forwarded to Bishop Kemper, putting the parish under the pastoral care of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and also a letter to the clergy of the Mission, informing them of the fact, together with a statement of their acceptance of the charge. June 2d, the Rev. J. Austen Merrick, clerk of the Mission, acknowledged the receipt of the notification of the organization of the parish of Christ Church, and communicated to the Vestry their acceptance of the missionary charge of the parish, until, by the advice and consent of the bishop, they should call a pastor.

THE FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT ST. ANTHONY.

The Church of the Holy Trinity, at St. Anthony, of which the corner stone was laid October 30th, 1850, as before noted, had so far advanced towards completion as to be opened for divine

worship for the first time in the evening of April 15, 1852 (the Thursday before Easter), upon which occasion the Rev. Mr. Gear of Fort Snelling delivered an appropriate discourse. This church was only a section of "what promised in time to be a large and beautiful building." And Mr. Breck adds, "This was the first house of worship erected in this growing town."

This parish was organized by the Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson on Easter Monday, April 12th, 1852. The first baptism in the church edifice was by the Rev. Mr. Merrick, Sunday, December 21st, 1851, when Franklin McAlpin received this sacrament; and the first confirmation was held August 24th, 1851, when a class of four received this rite at the hands of Bishop Kemper, namely, Mrs. Louisa H. McAlpin, Thomas Y. Sentell, Mrs. Amelia Bassett, and Mr. Herman Jenkins.

In one of his letters Father Gear wrote:

> It is intended that this edifice when completed shall be twenty-four feet wide by sixty long, besides a chancel of the requisite proportions, and in the early pointed style. . . . It occupies a beautiful and commanding site, and is near the place where I saw, eleven years ago, a camp of a party of the Sioux who had left a day or two before on a war expedition into the country of the Chippewas. This camp was an object of considerable interest. . . . It consisited of a large number of booths extending in a straight line of several hundred yards, perpendicular to the river, and opposite to the passage between two beautiful islands above the falls. In most of these lodges were evidences of their rites and ceremonies preparatory to war; and at the head of the column was a dead dog, bedaubed with various colors, suspended from a tall pole by the neck, with his face looking to the north, and which had been sacrificed on the occasion to propitiate the Great Spirit. . . . It was therefore with no ordinary emotions of pleasure that I assisted at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Church of the Holy Trinity in a place associated in my mind with this wild and savage scene.

BEGINNING OF SERVICES FOR SCANDINAVIANS.

Among the members of the St. Paul Mission was an educated Swede named Sorenson, who acted as cook, gardener, and man of all work. He was also useful as an interpreter of the mission to the Swedes, who were then found in considerable numbers in St. Paul. At their own request, the clergy gave them occasional services on Sundays and holy days, and performed such other ministrations as occasion required, solemnizing their marriages, baptizing their children, and burying their dead. Indeed, the Rev. Mr. Unonius, pastor of the Episcopal

Swedish Church in Chicago, visited St. Paul by special invitation of Mr. Breck, to examine into the merits of the Territory, with a view to recommend it to his countrymen as a suitable home. Already Mr. Breck had been instrumental in forming the nucleus of a settlement of Swedes near one of his stations.

As several congregations of Scandinavians have placed themselves under the supervision of the Episcopal Church with permission to use their own liturgy, it may be interesting to note here that the spiritual oversight of these excellent people was not overlooked by the Associate Mission. In fact, Mr. Breck and his associates forgot no one in their ministrations.

In the diary of Mr. Wilcoxson we find, from time to time, records of Sunday services to the few Norwegians in St. Paul. On New Year's day, 1855, he wrote, "Officiated at Carver, and gave the Communion to thirteen Swedes and Norwegians."

BUILDING OF ASCENSION CHURCH, IN STILLWATER.

On Ascension Day, May 29th, 1851, the corner stone of Ascension Church, Stillwater, was laid by the Rev. J. A. Merrick,—the Rev. Messrs. Breck, Wilcoxson, and Gear, who comprised the other clergy of the Territory, being present and assisting. This was the third church erected by the St. Paul Mission. It was opened for divine service on Christmas morning, 1851. The first baptism, before the erection of the church, was administered by Mr. Merrick, on August 11th, 1850, to a child, Augustus How Hartshorn, of William E. and Elvira Hartshorn.

VISITATION BY BISHOP KEMPER IN ST. PAUL.

Wednesday, July 16th, 1851, was a memorable day in the history of the St. Paul Mission, for the first official visitation of the venerable Bishop Kemper. The following Lord's Day he consecrated Christ Church, the first edifice erected by the Episcopal Church in the Territory. The six communicants whom Mr. Breck found had now increased to eighteen. This visitation of the bishop was prolonged to the 27th of August, during which time he visited all the settlements in the Territory where services had been established. Confirmations were held at Willow River (now Hudson) and St. Croix, Wis.; and at St. Anthony and St. Paul, Minn. At the last place, four persons were confirmed, namely, Mrs. Sophia Tracy, Mrs. Nancy Irvine,

Mrs. Jane E. Conway, and Mrs. Frances Powers. A friend wrote as follows:

At this time Bishop Kemper was something over fifty years of age. His frame was erect, his step firm, and his countenance bore the impress of benevolence and kindness of heart. In manner he was quiet. His voice in the pulpit was sweet and musical. His sermons were practical; nor did they lack the graces of composition. But their chief power lay in their earnestness, sincerity, and unaffected goodness. In the social circle he was dignified, yet affable, and he had the happy faculty of making all within his influence feel the sunshine of his presence.

Such was a brief description of the man who for some forty years passed the greater part of his time in the stage coach, and who was known only to be loved and venerated.

In 1850 there was no diocesan organization. The year 1851 is memorable for the first effort to bring together into organic unity of effort the churchmen of the scattered missions. The St. Paul Mission had been an important step in creating a strong center for church work. The laity were now by concerted action to complete this associated effort. Pursuant to a public notice, a meeting was called to be held in Christ Church, St. Paul, August 25th, for the purpose of organizing a Missionary Society for Minnesota. The object of the society was church extension, and the erection and completion of churches in the Territory. The president was J. Lloyd Breck; and Henry A. Lambert was elected clerk, and J. E. Fullerton treasurer. Other names of members of committees from Christ Church were C. F. Tracy, John Holland, and G. Parker. This missionary association served the purpose of a convention or council of the Church, though without legislative powers, and was the first effort to bring together the clergy and laity for mutual counsel.

A summary of results as given by Mr. Breck on October 6th, 1851, is as follows: Fifteen mission stations served by the clergy of St. Paul Mission; three church edifices; seventy-five communicants in all; and fourteen Sunday Schools. A school for boys had been begun on the Mission premises, and a lot had been secured adjoining the church, with the intention of building another schoolhouse for girls.

"Our first service for the Norwegians in Minnesota," Mr. Breck wrote, "was had in Christ Church, St. Paul, on yesterday, the day after Christmas [1851]. These sheep in the wilderness

are beginning to emigrate into these parts, and we cannot but be deeply interested in their welfare."

REV. JAMES LLOYD BRECK IN THE OJIBWAY MISSION.

The primary object of Mr. Breck in coming to St. Paul had been missionary work, and the training of young men for the ministry. To this, as we have seen, he added educational work for both sexes. In a conference between Bishop Kemper and the Associate Mission, at his visitation in 1851, the bishop gave his consent for them to go on as they had begun. They were to hold services, build churches, establish schools, and train men for the ministry. After further deliberation, this permission was restricted to the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders; but their theological education must be sought elsewhere.

This new arrangement was a great disappointment to Mr. Breck, and led him to look for a field where he could carry out his plans. At this juncture the condition of the Indian field was laid before him by Father Gear. The time was opportune. The several Protestant churches had withdrawn from the Ojibway field, one by one, and Mr. Breck decided to undertake work among them. After visiting the Indian country and making due preparation, the mission to the Ojibways was inaugurated on Ascension Day, 1852.

REV. TIMOTHY WILCOXSON, RECTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH.

Mr. Breck retained charge of Christ Church until July 26th, 1852, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson. The latter, however, in accepting the rectorship, did so with the express condition that he should devote one half his time to the outside field.

The labors of Mr. Wilcoxson extended up the valley of the St. Croix, up the Minnesota valley as far as Mankato, and down the Mississippi to Red Wing. For a time he was the only missionary in the white field, until the coming of the Rev. J. S. Chamberlain to St. Anthony in October, 1852, who added to this the region west and north of the Falls. Mr. Wilcoxson remained in charge of Christ Church until July 25th, 1854.

Soon after this he was succeeded by the Rev. John Visger Van Ingen, D.D., who came from Rochester, N. Y., as head

of the Minnesota Mission, and who for more than seven years was prominent in church matters in the Territory and new State. The property acquired by Mr. Breck in St. Paul was deeded to Dr. Van Ingen, and was held by him in trust for the Church until the organization of the Minnesota Church Foundation Society. Although he took an active interest in the growth of the Church outside of St. Paul, organizing the parish of St. Paul's Church at Winona, and visiting other points, yet his labors were mostly confined to Christ Church, which now became separate from the rest of the field. The Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson removed to Hastings, which became the center of an extensive itinerant work.

In 1856 St. Paul's Church in the city of St. Paul, of which the Rev. Andrew Bell Paterson was the first and for many years the esteemed rector, was organized as an offshoot from Christ Church.

The removal of Mr. Breck to the Indian country was practically the close of the St. Paul Mission, so far as the special object was concerned which had brought him to the Territory. This, aside from the general missionary or church work in this unoccupied field, was theological education. It was his purpose to establish an institution similar to Nashotah in Wisconsin. With this in view he had acquired the ground now held in trust by the Minnesota Church Foundation. The missionary work and the educational revolved around this central idea. This idea was never abandoned by Mr. Breck; and had it not been that the property was occupied in 1857, it is pretty certain that the system of schools in Faribault would have been located on these grounds in St. Paul. In this connection we quote from the diary of the Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson, under date of July 27th, 1852.

Within the last few days, I have been consulted with reference to taking charge of the parish of Christ Church in this place. At first I gave but little encouragement that I would accept, if elected,—feeling bound to pursue the itinerancy during the three years for which I was pledged. I gave them to understand that I would in no case propose to give up the itinerancy, as that might seem like a shrinking from duty. I said, however, that if all parties concerned should concur, I might be induced to accept the rectorship. Such was the case. Brother Breck arrived from the Indian mision at Gull lake on the 22d; a meeting of the Vestry was held last evening, and I was elected rector. Under the circumstances I felt bound to accept. The people having been disappointed again and again were becoming disheartened. . . . I do not wish a city parish, as this seems des-

tined to be. Still, the departure of Brother Breck to Gull lake, the absence of Brother Merrick on account of his health, and the difficulty of getting anyone else to take the parish, all unite to make the path of duty plain. For the present I am to spend one half of my time at the other stations.

The ceding of the country west of the Mississippi, which took place July 23d, 1851, opened the valley of the Minnesota to settlement. Having the advantage of steamboat navigation, this region was accessible to the pioneer much earlier than the parts away from the river. Shakopee and Traverse des Sioux were interesting as Indian villages, as trading posts, and as the seats of Presbyterian missions to the Indians. The first house was built in Mankato in 1852. In the spring of 1853 there was a single dwelling on Arrow prairie, where Le Sueur now stands. In 1854, Captain Dodd built a house on the townsite of St. Peter. Along the Mississippi in this state, below St. Paul, not a town has a history prior to 1852, unless the Swiss mission at Red Wing or the Presbyterian mission there and at Kaposia claim that prestige.

The importance of Shakopee, then a rival of Stillwater, attracted early attention. The spiritual care of this growing young village, the home of old Shokpay, belonged in the first instance to the St. Paul mission. In June, 1853, the Rev. E. A. Greenleaf returned to the Territory and took charge of the work here. May 17th, 1854, Bishop Kemper visited Shakopee, and laid the corner stone of St. Peter's Church, the second church of this communion erected on the west of the Mississippi, the Indian church of St. Columba at Gull lake having been the first. The Rev. Mr. Greenleaf continued in charge until November 29th of this year, when he retired, the spiritual care of this church and of the entire Minnesota valley being assigned by the bishop to the Rev. Mr. Wilcoxson. The church at Shakopee was opened for divine service August 26th, 1855.

During the summer of 1852 Mr. Breck made occasional visits to St. Paul and officiated in Christ Church. Indeed, the work for the red men was regarded as one department of the St. Paul mission, which continued to retain the name of "Associate Mission." But the growing needs of the Indian work absorbed the greater part of the contributions, and the separation practically grew more and more complete. The arrival of the Rev. J. S. Chamberlain, son-in-law of Bishop Chase of Illinois, to take

charge of St. Anthony and the region to the west and north, relieved the stress of this part of the field, so that Christ Church and the valley of the St. Croix alone were embraced in the cure of Mr. Wilcoxson.

In 1854, the Rev. Dr. J. V. Van Ingen came to Minnesota as the head or president of the St. Paul mission, including the rectorship of Christ Church. Accordingly, Mr. Breck deeded to him the property in St. Paul which he himself had held in trust for church purposes, to which reference has already been made. Dr. Van Ingen arrived late in September, and entered at once upon his duties. Under dates of November 5th and 6th, 1854, Mr. Wilcoxson wrote: "Sunday, officiated with the Bishop [Kemper] and Rev. J. V. Van Ingen. . . . Monday, Nov. 6th, was nominated by the Bishop as itinerant for Minnesota."

SUBSEQUENT ITINERANT WORK.

Mr. Wilcoxson at once entered upon his duties with his usual zeal. After visiting Stillwater he set out on his first journey up the Minnesota. The close of a cold blustering day in November found him at Stevens' mill, opposite St. Anthony. The next day he reached the log cabin of Mr. Judd, with its welcome hospitality, at Chanhassan. On the following Lord's Day he officiated there and at Shakopee. The next day he walked to Le Sueur, stopping by the way at Judge Chatfield's, now Belle Plaine. At Le Sueur he found a single communicant, Mrs. Peck, who had arrived the year before. Traverse des Sioux was the next point reached, interesting as the place where the Dakotas signed the treaty of 1851, by which they relinquished their title to the lands west of the Mississippi.

At St. Peter, Captain Dodd had lately brought from the East as his bride, a devoted church woman, who had been a member of the Church of the Holy Cummunion in New York City. Here he held service, at which fourteen were present, the second service of the Prayer Book there.

Returning, he preached to some forty or fifty at Traverse, a village of promise then, but now only of promising farm harvests. His first service at Le Sueur was held on the 23d of February, 1855.

The first service of Mr. Wilcoxson at Carver was on New Year's day, 1855. About thirty were present at this service,

which was held at the hotel. Thirteen Swedes and Norwegians received the Communion, "they using the Lord's Prayer and Confession, the Psalms and Hymns in their own language, and receiving an explanation of the Communion office and some practical instruction through one of their own number who understood our language." About this time he wrote:

> In all the places I have mentioned, communicants and persons attached to the Church are to be found.—in some, one or two communicants; in others, ten or twelve.
>
> Stillwater has a population of about 1,000. The number of communicants connected with this parish is nine or ten. There is a church edifice completed and fully paid for. Shakopee, although of not more than two years' growth, has a population of 500. The frame of a church has been erected at this place. The building is inclosed and nearly enough is secured to finish it. There is the promising settlement of Chanhassan, numbering twelve or fifteen cummunicants. At Hastings I have heard of four or five communicants.

Early in 1855 he visited Hastings, a place of some ten or twelve houses, and held his first service on Sunday morning, January 7th.

A second journey up the Minnesota was made early in 1855, during which he officiated eleven times in nine days, administering the Lord's Supper once, and baptizing a child. During this part of his itinerancy he resided in St. Paul as the most central point for his work.

Early in May, 1855, he removed to Hastings, which was rapidly growing and was for many years the market for a large region of country extending as far as to Albert Lea and Blue Earth City, including Faribault and the intervening territory. The same month he was relieved of the care of Stillwater by the coming of the Rev. J. A. Russell. He continued his visits to the country of the lower Minnesota valley during the summer; but in November, 1855, the Rev. E. Steele Peake became itinerant missionary in this valley, and resident pastor of the church at Shakopee. Mr. Wilcoxson continued to reside at Hastings until failing health compelled him to give up his work.

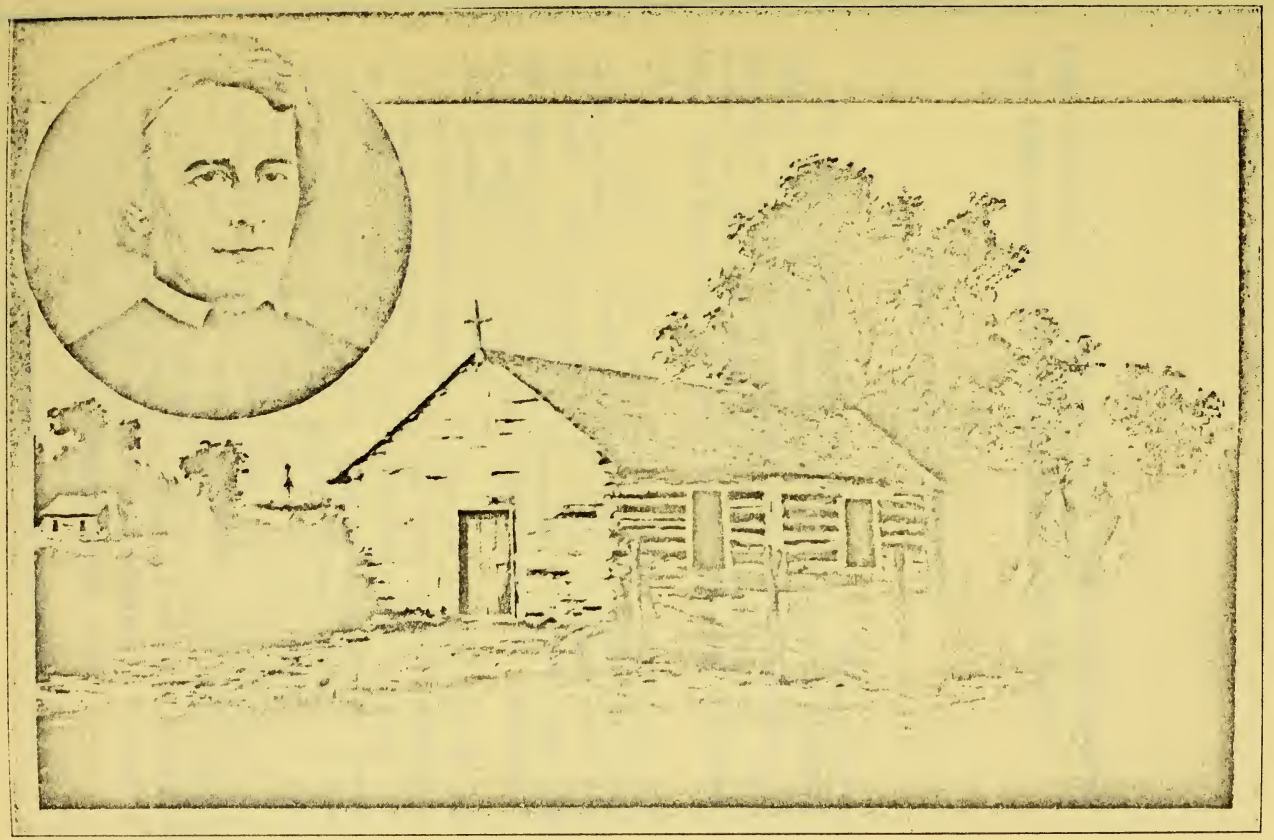
During the first seven months of this itinerancy he had walked nearly two thousand miles, and may be called the pioneer missionary of this church to the white population. In company with Bishop Kemper, he held the first Prayer Book service at

Mankato on May 18th, 1855. The same year Mr. Wilcoxson held the first service of his church at Faribault, June 3d, at which he baptized the daughter of Mr. Crump. In 1857, in company with Bishop Kemper, he made a journey into the interior as far as to Bancroft, a townsite not far from Albert Lea, where now only herds graze or harvests wave. There is something romantic in a visit involving a journey of some two hundred miles, going and returning, in the interest of the Church, quite as much as in the first known visit of a distinguished civilian in search of buffalo a little earlier in a neighboring county. Probably no missionary in our branch of the Church ever walked more miles, unless we except the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck. Mr. Wilcoxson also held the first service of the Episcopal Church at Red Wing.

The coming of the Rev. Dr. Van Ingen to take charge of the parish of Christ Church, St. Paul, and also to be the head of the Minnesota Mission, marks the close of the period which this paper is intended to cover. For the circumstances which led to his acceptance of this work we would refer to his "Memoir." For the first time in its history, Christ Church had a pastor who could devote his entire time and strength to the parish.

The several missions already begun were now cared for by others. In 1855, at the date of the Convocation of November 1st, Dr. Van Ingen was in charge of the single parish of Christ Church in St. Paul; the Rev. Timothy Wilcoxson was the rector of St. Luke's in Hastings, and was itinerant missionary of all the territory adjacent, wherever a settlement had been begun; the Rev. J. A. Russell had taken charge of Stillwater; at St. Anthony Falls the Rev. J. S. Chamberlain was rector of Holy Trinity on the east side, including the settlements around lake Minnetonka, with the village of Minneapolis, and all that country along the Mississippi as far as Sauk Rapids; the Rev. J. Lloyd Breck was missionary to the Ojibways at Gull lake, beyond the present city of Brainerd; the Rev. Solon W. Manney was chaplain at Fort Ripley, and the Rev. E. G. Gear was chaplain at Fort Snelling; while the Rev. E. Steele Peake was resident missionary at Shakopee, and in charge of the villages springing up along the Minnesota river.

To these pioneer clergy the Episcopal Church in Minnesota owes very much. They were men of strong convictions, beloved and esteemed in their day for their work's sake; and upon the foundations wisely laid by these men our first Bishop, as a wise master builder, reared the superstructure.



FATHER GALTIER AND THE CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL.

By Courtesy of Edward A. Bromley, from his "Photographic History of Early St. Paul" (1901).

THE CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MINNESOTA.*

BY REV. AMBROSE McNULTY.

The first Christian temple in what is now Minnesota was built by two Jesuit missionaries, Michael Guignas and Nicholas De Gonnor, at the French trading post, Fort Beauharnois, on or near the plot now occupied by Villa Maria convent, Frontenac. This log chapel was ready for use at the end of October, 1727.

In October, 1841, Rev. Lucien Galtier erected the first Christian house of worship in the settlement destined to become St. Paul. This log chapel of St. Paul, on Bench street, was the second Catholic church in Minnesota, though for more than a year religious services were regularly held in dwellings at Fort Snelling and Mendota.

In the interval between the time of Guignas and the day of Galtier, the fortunes of war had made profound changes in the political aspect of the new world and of the old world. In 1727, when Jesuit missionaries came to evangelize the Indians of the unknown Northwest, imperial France, mistress of Canada and of the Mississippi, Catholic France, nursery of missionaries for all pagan lands, had reached the zenith of her power and of her glory in North America. When Galtier, son though he was of war-scourged France, landed at Fort Snelling in 1840, he came as a citizen by choice of the new republic of the West, whose rising star of empire flashed a message of hope to the lovers of liberty throughout the world.

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, December 8, 1902.

On first thought it may seem strange that about eighty years should have intervened between the abandonment of the Frontenac Indian mission and the inauguration of the Catholic Church in embryonic St. Paul. However, it must be borne in mind that the overthrow of France in the new world left Catholic missions in the Northwest unprotected and untenable, and that the tide of immigration to the upper Mississippi was necessarily held in abeyance while the young republic of the United States was struggling a second time with England for the independence and territory won in the Revolutionary war.

In tracing the growth of St. Paul and Minnesota account must be taken of many agencies. Failure of crops and other misfortunes induced many of the Selkirk colonists on the Canadian border to seek homes in more propitious surroundings. Some of these refugees, following the Red river and the St. Peter or Minnesota, were among the first to settle about Fort Snelling. Soldiers of the fort, also, whose term of service had expired, took claims in the neighborhood. Soon straggling settlements began to form along the banks of the Mississippi. A cluster of cabins opposite the fort was called St. Peter's,—it has since become famous as Mendota.

VISIT BY BISHOP LORAS IN 1839.

When Bishop Loras, of Dubuque, in 1839, visited this part of his vast diocese, he estimated the number of Catholics at and about Fort Snelling at 185. His enumeration was probably far in excess of the number of actual residents. Mathias Loras came to America in response to an appeal of Bishop Portier, of Mobile, then in France asking for missionaries for his southern diocese. Father Loras labored faithfully for seven years in Alabama, rising to the office of Vicar General. In 1837 he was appointed bishop of the newly formed diocese of Dubuque, in which was comprised the territory of Iowa and all of Minnesota and the Dakotas between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. On his elevation to the bishopric of Dubuque, Bishop Loras in his turn immediately went to France in quest of priests for his distant diocese. Returning to America in the winter of 1838, he brought with him, among others, Joseph Cretin, A. Pelamourgues, Lucien Galtier, and Augustine Ravoux. He arrived in Dubuque April 19th, 1839. Two months later he

was setting out for Fort Snelling. This visit is described in the following letter, written at Dubuque in July, 1839.

I have just returned from St. Peter's [Mendota], where I made my second mission, or episcopal visitation. Though it lasted only a month, it has been crowned with success. I left Dubuque on the 23d of June, on board a large and magnificent steam vessel, and was accompanied by Father Pelamourgues and a young man who served as interpreter with the Sioux. After a successful voyage of some days along the superb Mississippi, we reached St. Peter's. Our arrival was a cause of great joy to the Catholics, who had never before seen a priest or bishop in those remote regions. They manifested a great desire to assist at divine worship and to approach the sacraments of the Church. The wife of our host was baptized and confirmed: she subsequently received the sacrament of matrimony. The Catholics of St. Peter's amount to 185, fifty-six of whom we baptized, administered confirmation to eight, communion to thirty-three adults, and gave the nuptial blessing to four couples.

Arrangements have been made for the construction of a church next summer, and a clergyman is to be sent when he is able to speak French (which is the language of the majority), English, and the Sioux. To facilitate the study of the latter we are to have at Dubuque this winter two young Sioux, who are to teach one or two of our young ecclesiastics.

GALTIER, THE FIRST PRIEST.

When navigation opened the following spring, Bishop Loras fulfilled his promise of sending a priest to Fort Snelling. The Rev. Lucien Galtier, one of the young levites brought from France, was selected for the upper Mississippi post. Father Galtier was a man of remarkable personality and power; he had the face of a Cæsar and the heart of a Madonna; in him strength and tenderness, culture and simplicity, met and mingled in the formation of a noble character. If he had remained in France, his talents and his virtues would have marked him for high honors, but he preferred the rugged lot and privations of pioneer life to the power and fame for which petty men strive. He served the missions of Mendota and St. Paul for four years, thence going directly to Keokuk, Iowa, and afterward to Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, where he labored zealously for the Master from 1849 until he was called to his reward in 1866.

Such was Galtier, the founder of the chapel of St. Paul, from which our city received its name, about which our great metropolis grew as some medieval cathedral might lift its massive shoulders and huge frame about its lowly sanctuary. If

some day the angel of history shall touch the mystic chords of memory in a grateful generation and a shaft shall rise towards heaven in commemoration of the builder of the first Christian temple of St. Paul, let it bear the simple legend: "Galtier, the Father of St. Paul."

Father Galtier in his own modest style shall tell the story of his coming to Minnesota and of his labors in what was then the *Ultima Thule* of our young commonwealth. Your imagination will paint the wild and forbidding background of the picture sketched by his words, addressed to Bishop Loras from Prairie du Chien on the 14th day of January, 1864.

On the 20th day of April, 1840, in the afternoon, a St. Louis steamboat, the first of the season, arrived at Dubuque, bound for St. Peter's and Fort Snelling. Right Reverend Dr. Loras immediately came to me and told me that he desired to send me towards the upper waters of the Mississippi. There was no St. Paul at that time; there was on the site of the present city but a single log house, occupied by a man named Phelan, and the steamboats never stopped there.

The boat landed at the foot of Fort Snelling, then garrisoned by a few regular soldiers, under command of Major Plimpton. The sight of the fort, commanding from the elevated promontory the two rivers, the Mississippi and the St. Peter, pleased me; but the discovery which I soon made that there were only a few houses on the St. Peter side, and but two on the side of the fort, surrounded by a complete wilderness, without any signs of fields under tillage, gave me to understand that henceforth my mission and life must be a career of privation, hard trials, and suffering, and would require of me patience, labor, and resignation. I had before me, under my charge, a large territorial district, but few souls to watch over. I introduced myself to Mr. Campbell, a Scotch gentleman, the Indian interpreter, to whom I was recommended by the Bishop. At his house I received a kind welcome from his good Christian wife, a charitable, Catholic woman. For about a month I remained there as one of the family. But, although well treated by all the members of the house, I did not, while thus living, feel sufficiently free to discharge my pastoral duties, so I obtained a separate room for my own use and made of it a kitchen, a parlor, and a chapel. Out of some boards I built a little altar, which was open in time of service, and during the balance of the day was folded up and concealed by drapery.

In that precarious and somewhat difficult position I continued for over a year. On the Fort Snelling side I had under my charge, besides some soldiers, six families—Resche, Papin, Quinn, Campbell, Bruce, and Resico; and on the St. Peter side, besides some unmarried men in the employ of the company, five families—Faribault, Martin, Lord, and two Turpins. . . . . .

A circumstance rather bad in itself commenced to better my situation by procuring for me a new station and a change in my field of

labor. Some families who had left the Red River settlement, British America, on account of the floods and loss of the crop in the years 1837-38, had located themselves all along the bank of the Mississippi opposite the fort. Unfortunately some soldiers crossed the river now and then to the houses of these settlers and returned intoxicated, sometimes remaining out a day or two or more without reporting to their quarters. Consequently a deputy marshal from Prairie du Chien was ordered to remove the houses. He went to work, assisted by some soldiers, and, one after another, unroofed the cottages, extending about five miles along the river. The settlers were forced to seeek new homes.

A new settlement was formed about two miles below the cave, composed of those emigrants from the Red river and others. There were Rondo, who purchased the only cultivated piece of ground in the place, Phelan's old claim, Vital Guerin, Gervais and his brother, etc. I had to visit occasionally these forsaken families. It became necessary to choose a suitable spot for a church. Three points were offered, one called La Pointe Basse, or Pointe Leclair (now on account of a sand bar in its vicinity commonly known as Pig's Eye bar). I objected to that place; it was the extreme end of the settlement, and being low ground was exposed in high water to inundation. The idea of having the church swept down towards St. Louis one day did not please me. Two and one-half miles farther up, on his elevated claim, a Catholic named Charles Mousseau offered me an acre of his ground; but neither did this place suit my purpose. I was truly looking ahead to the future as well as seeing to the present time. Seamboats could not stop there; the bank was too steep, and the space on the summit was too narrow, and communication difficult with the places of the other settlers up and down the river.

After mature reflection several persons asked me to put up the church as near as possible to the cave, it being more convenient for me on my way from St. Peter's to cross the river at this point, and that place being the nearest point to the head of navigation outside the reservation line. Messrs. B. Gervais and Vital Guerin, two good, quiet farmers, owned the only spot that appeared likely to suit. They both consented to give the ground necessary for a church, a garden, and a small graveyard. I accepted the extreme eastern part of Mr. Vital's claim and the extreme west of Mr. Gervais'. In the month of October, 1841, I had on the above stated place logs cut and prepared, and soon a poor log church that would well remind one of the stable of Bethlehem was built. The nucleus of St. Paul was formed. On November 1st, I blessed the new basilica, smaller, indeed, than the Basilica of St. Paul in Rome, but as well adapted as the latter for prayer and love to arise therein from pious hearts.

THE FIRST CHAPEL.

The first site urged upon Father Galtier was probably not far from where Father Hennepin and his Dakota captors de-

barked at the end of April, 1680, to begin their overland journey to the Indian village at Mille Lacs. Father Galtier wisely decided that the ground there was dangerously low, and that the second, or Dayton's Bluff site, on the other hand, was inaccessibly high. The only available location remaining was the plot between Bench and Third streets and between Minnesota and Cedar streets. This was chosen, and in October, 1841, eight men accepted as a labor of love the task of erecting the first house of worship in their new home. The honored names of the builders are: Isaac Labissonniere, Joseph Labissonniere, the two Pierre Gervais, Pierre Bottineau, Charles Bottineau, Francois Morin, and Vital Guerin.

The only survivor of those who built the original chapel is Isaac Labissonniere, who resides in this city at 575 Canada street. Though nearly eighty years of age, his mind is remarkably keen and his memory surprisingly clear. Mr. Labissonniere was born in Pembina, N. D., in 1823; he came to St. Paul in 1837. In 1852 he removed to Osseo, in Hennepin county, and returned to St. Paul in 1902. I give the substance of several interviews with the old gentleman:

I remember well the circumstances attending the building of the log chapel in 1841. Perhaps by general consent rather than the appointment of Father Galtier, my father held the office of general superintendent of the building. Eight of us at first volunteered for the work; others offered themselves later.

The ground selected for the site of the church was thinly covered with groves of red oak and white oak. Where the cathedral stands was then a tamarack swamp. The logs for the chapel were cut on the spot, and the tamarack swamp in the rear was made to contribute rafters and roof pieces. We had poor building tools in those days, and our work was not beautifully finished. The logs, rough and undressed, prepared merely by the ax, were made secure by wooden pins. The roof was made of steeply slanting bark-covered slabs, donated by a mill-owner of Stillwater. The slabs were carried to St. Paul by a steamboat, the captain accepting in payment a few days' service of one of the men. These slabs were landed at Jackson street, and were drawn up the hill by hand with ropes. The slabs were likewise put to good use in the construction of the floor and of the benches.

The chapel, as I remember it, was about twenty-five feet long, eighteen feet wide, and ten feet high. It had a single window on each side and it faced the river. It was completed in a few days, and could not have represented an expenditure in labor value of more than $65.

Mr. Labissonniere's description of the old church agrees essentially with Monsignor Ravoux's expressed views, and it may be accepted as sufficiently accurate.

Such was the Galtier chapel, as, amidst trees and tangled growths, it stood with unshaven sides, steep roof, and simple cross, crowning the brow of the nascent city. Such it was on the first of November, 1841, when it was solemnly dedicated to the worship of God.

On that memorable day, it admitted within its hallowed precincts Swiss watchmakers now trying to coax a pittance from an unaccustomed soil, voyageurs who seemed to make a romance of poverty and trial, *coureurs de bois* who still wore some rags of the civilization of better days, adventuresome seekers of furs and fortune, sons of France and Erin, who are always to be found at the outposts of civilization, and silent Sioux, who yet remembered the Black-gown's story of the cross. Could any one of this motley group of worshippers, gazing into the future, have dreamed of the meaning and the promise of the simple ceremony just witnessed in the "Bethlehem" of the Northwest? It was, in fact, not only the local inauguration of the universal Church, but the founding of a great city destined to create and guide the destinies of a vast commonwealth.

The passing of the name, St. Paul, from the church which was the nucleus of the future city to the settlement itself, is described as follows by Father Galtier in the letter already quoted.

The church was thus dedicated to St. Paul, and I expressed a wish that the settlement should be known by no other name. I succeeded in this. I had previously to this time fixed my residence at St. Peter, and as the name of St. Paul is generally connected with that of St. Peter, and the Gentiles being well represented in the new place in the persons of Indians, I called it St. Paul's. . . . . .

The name of St. Paul, applied to a town or city, seemed appropriate. The monosyllable is short, sounds well, is understood by all denominations. Hence, when later an attempt was made to change the name of the place, I opposed the vain project, even by writing from Prairie du Chien. When Mr. Vital [Guerin] was married, I published the bans as being those of a resident of St. Paul. An American named Jackson put up a store, and a grocery was opened at the foot of the Gervais claim. This soon caused steamboats to land there; henceforward the place was known as St. Paul landing.

The only other event of note, after the dedication, in the recorded history of the chapel, previous to its enlargement in 1847, was an official visitation and the administration of confirmation by Bishop Loras on the fifth day of June, 1842.

FATHER RAVOUX.

Our sketch now brings us to a venerable figure among us, the patriarch of the Church in Minnesota, the living link between the luxurious present and the pioneer past, the noblest Roman of them all, Augustine Ravoux. Commissioned by Loras in August, 1841, as missionary plenipotentiary among the Sioux, he devoted himself with marvelous success to that work till he was compelled to take the post left vacant by the withdrawal of Father Galtier in 1844. From that date until the coming of Bishop Cretin, in 1851, he was the only priest in Minnesota, "the lonely sentinel of Rome on the banks of the upper Mississippi." Father Ravoux divided his time between Mendota and St. Paul, giving two Sundays to the former to the one in St. Paul, until in 1849 it was necessary to reverse the order of attendance, as Mendota was falling hopelessly behind her young sister village in point of population.

In his "Reminiscences and Memoirs," page 59, Father Ravoux says: "In 1847 we had to make an addition to the chapel of St. Paul, erected by the Rev. Father Galtier in 1841. The small chapel used by the Sisters of St. Joseph, till their removal to St. Joseph's academy, formed the addition."

On page 62 of the same book is the following item about the church to which Bishop Cretin was introduced in 1851: "And the cathedral, the chapel described above, was a log building about forty-five feet long by eighteen wide." The addition, therefore, put up by Father Ravoux, was eighteen by about twenty feet. These figures seem to correspond with Monsignor Ravoux's map recently published. The old chapel was shingled and otherwise repaired to make it conform to the part added in 1847.

It is worthy of mention that the bell of the "Argo," a steamer which sunk in the Mississippi in the autumn of 1847, was presented to Father Ravoux by the Hon. Henry M. Rice. It was installed in a little belfry beside the chapel in the winter of

1847-8. This was the first mounted bell dedicated to the use of any church or school in Minnesota.

PICTURES OF THE CHAPEL.

So far as reaching a satisfactory conclusion is concerned, the most difficult point with which this paper has to deal is whether the pictures commonly called the "First Chapel of St. Paul" represent really the old building, or merely the addition of 1847, or in some way a combination of both. Monsignor Ravoux contends that the painting by Alexis Fournier in 1888 (presented by Mr. James J. Hill to this Historical Society) shows only his addition. His argument is supported by the apparent dimensions of the structure, and by the further fact that the two windows appear to have been in the original plan of the designer.

Against this view is the rough appearance of the logs, showing only here and there a touch of the axe on the outer surface; the popular belief of the pioneer sisters and old priests, like Monsignor Oster, who never doubted that the Fournier sketch was the first chapel; and, above all, the daguerreotypes taken before and after 1853, which show the cross and main entrance at the south end of the chapel, whereas the addition admittedly faced north, toward Third street. The "Nucleus" lithograph, published by J. E. Whitney and William G. Le Duc in 1853, showing a nearly square building with only one window on the side and entitling it "Nucleus of St. Paul," is the same as the front part of the Fournier painting. The original daguerreotype of the chapel, which was followed in the painting, was made in 1854, according to Edward A. Bromley in his "Photographic History of Early St. Paul," 1901. An enlarged photographic copy of it is displayed in the rooms of this Historical Society.

The Directory of the city of St. Paul for 1856-7, published by Goodrich & Somers, January, 1857, reproduced the commonly accepted picture, similar to the painting by Fournier, and called it "the first building erected for public purposes." "Our fellow citizen," the Directory continued, "J. E. Whitney, daguerreotyped the building as it stood until 1855, and has kindly permitted us to use the following engraving prepared from the

same." If that picture, made at a time when the Galtier building was fresh in the minds of all, was not at all a representation of the old building, is it not passing strange that the error was not corrected with haste and vigor?

In all probability, the Fournier painting shows the old building and a small section of the '47 addition, the camera in the first instance taking only part of the church as it stood in 1854. We therefore conclude that the "Nucleus" picture, in everything except the new roof added in 1847, is an accurate portrayal of the first chapel of St. Paul.

BISHOP CRETIN.

The next and most important event in the life of the chapel was the installation of the Right Rev. Joseph Cretin as bishop of St. Paul, July 2, 1851. Of this the "Minnesota Democrat," of July 8, 1851, says:

> The coming of the bishop to this place was hailed with considerable enthusiasm by our Catholic fellow citizens. In the evening large numbers assembled in the log chapel on the bluff to see him and hear his voice. Religious ceremonies appropriate to the church were performed. The Te Deum and the Magnificat were chanted, and the bishop addressed the congregation both in English and in French.
>
> The services closed with the bishop's benediction on the congregation. Those who know the bishop well, and of different sects, represent him as a highly educated and excellent man, an American in all his sympathies, and warmly attached to the free institutions of our country.

LATER CATHEDRALS.

Of Bishop Cretin and the second cathedral Monsignor Ravoux says, on page 63 of his Memoirs: "Before the lapse of five months after his arrival in St. Paul, he had erected on block seven, in St. Paul proper [Wabasha and Sixth streets], a brick building eighty-four feet long by forty-four feet wide, three stories and a half high, including the basement. This building became immediately the second cathedral of St. Paul, and also the second residence of the Rt. Rev. Bishop, of his priests and seminarians; and a few months after, some apartments of the basement were used as school rooms for boys."

This brick house on Wabasha street served as the cathedral until the present stone building on St. Peter and Sixth streets was opened for services, June 13, 1858. Excavation for the third cathedral of St. Paul was begun in 1854, and its corner

stone was laid by Monsignor Timon, bishop of Buffalo, N. Y., in 1856.

Bishop Cretin did not live to see the new cathedral finished, —to Monsignor Ravoux belongs the credit of having erected that building. To Bishop Cretin, first bishop and father of the diocese of St. Paul, who died February 22nd, 1857, may be traced many of the projects which have brought about the marvelous development of the Catholic church in Minnesota.

THE FIRST SISTERS.

What became of the old log church on Bench street? When the brick church on Wabasha street was opened, in November, 1851, the old church was turned over to the Sisters of St. Joseph, whom the bishop had called from St. Louis for school work. It was used by the sisters for one purpose or another from 1851 to 1863. If time permitted, many a droll and touching tale might be told of the experiences of these pioneer nuns, the first Catholic teachers in St. Paul.

Four made up the first colony, viz.: Mother St. John Fournier, of France; Sister M. Philomene, of France; Sister M. Scholastic Valasquez, of St. Louis; and Sister Frances Joseph Ivory, of Loretto, Pa. In the notes preserved by the Sisters of St. Joseph is the following reference to the trip of the intrepid four from St. Louis to St. Paul: "Major Fridley and his family were on the boat. The major, who was agent for the Chippewa Indians, was always trying to impress upon the minds of the other passengers this fact—that St. Paul was really a very nice place, though new and a little wild. 'Yes,' he would say, 'a little wild.'"

The nuns arrived in St. Paul November 2nd, 1851, and they opened their school in the vestry of the old church on the 10th of the same month. The sisters lived in the old shanty, eighteen feet square and one story high, which had served as the episcopal palace. The house was heated by a stove, an opening in the roof permitting the pipes to pass out and the cold air to pass in. A diary of the sisters says:

> While preparing the vestry for a school room the sisters noticed several openings in the logs, through which daylight could be seen; they knew that through these same openings cold air could enter, and therefore they called on the pupils for old newspapers, with which they hoped to exclude both the one and the other. Wednesday afternoon, their first

half-holiday, was devoted to stopping up the chinks by forcing folded paper into them. Then the artistic powers of teachers and pupils were taxed to decorate the walls and the stuffed crevices.

On the first day of the school fourteen pupils were enrolled. The number so increased that, as the records quoted above inform us, early in April, 1852, the pupils were crowded out of the vestry "into the old log church that had been fitted up for a school." In the spring and summer of 1852 a two-story brick school, 42 by 21 feet, was erected for the sisters. The new school was connected by a corridor-like frame structure with the old shanty which had been their first dwelling place. When the school was removed from the log church, it was restored to its original purpose and remained the sisters' chapel until they vacated Bench street.

THE FIRST HOSPITAL.

In 1853 Bishop Cretin decided to build a hospital. Hon. Henry M. Rice donated land for the purpose, and in 1854 St. Joseph's hospital was completed. The original building was only the central part of modern St. Joseph's. In 1854 the cholera was brought to St. Paul by boatmen, and as the new hospital was not ready, the indispensable old church was turned into a temporary hospital, reverting again on the subsidence of the epidemic to use as a chapel.

In 1859, on the arrival of Bishop Grace, the sisters' school, or St. Joseph's academy, was transferred to the hospital building on Exchange street, and the hospital was removed to Bench street. So matters stood until the sisters, on the last day of July, 1863, took possession of the nucleus of their buildings on Nelson and Western avenues.

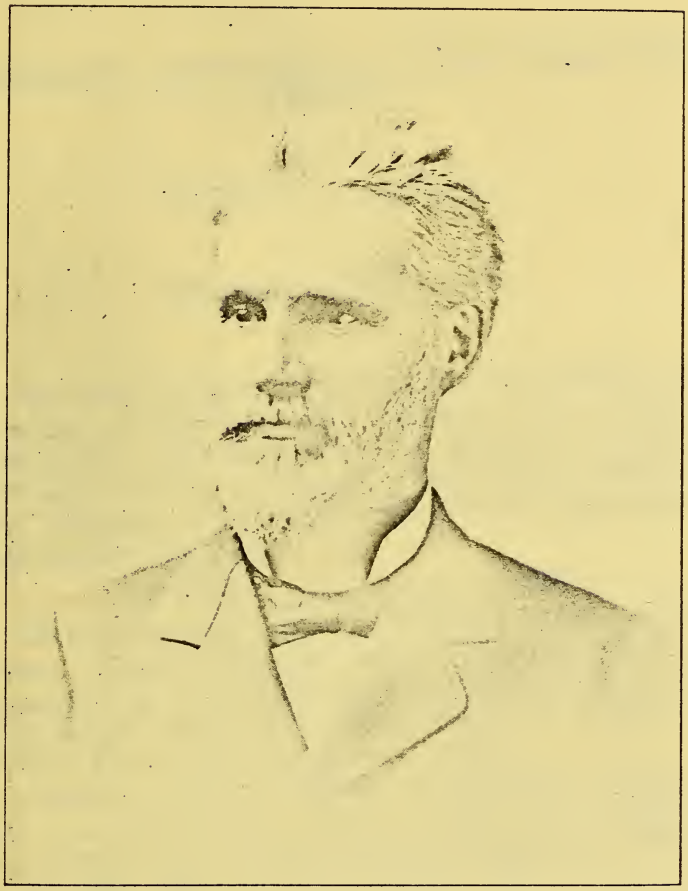
RELICS OF THE OLD CHAPEL.

The old log church, or what remained of it, was then in a dilapidated condition. It was the intention of Bishop Grace to have the old chapel rebuilt and preserved as a relic on the grounds of St. Joseph's academy. For that purpose he had the logs removed there, but the men at work on the academy, not knowing what the logs were for, burnt them to warm their hands or their coffee.

Out of the fragments of one of these logs that escaped destruction Bishop Grace had two gavels made. One of these was

presented to the Minnesota Historical Society, and the other was kept at the Cathedral. Unfortunately both have disappeared—the last remnants of the log chapel of St. Paul.

The old log chapel has disappeared, but its noble offshoots remain: the city which from it took its origin and its name; the Catholic Church in Minnesota, which traces to its humble door the splendid story of its growth. The civil and ecclesiastical commonwealths in the Northwest shared the same cradle, the struggles of primitive times, and the triumphs of later days. Working harmoniously in the future as in the past, may these two forces develop on the favored soil of Minnesota the flower of American citizenship.



D. S. B. Johnston

MINNESOTA JOURNALISM IN THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.*

BY DANIEL S. B. JOHNSTON.

First Paper, 1849 to 1854.

In writing this history I have tried, as far as possible, to give it compact and interesting form. Therefore I have classed the newspapers by years and dates of first issues, where obtainable, and sought to enliven their history by anecdotal, biographical, and other references to their editors, and to the rough and ready times that environed them.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER AND ITS EDITOR.

The first newspaper printed in Minnesota was the Minnesota Pioneer. James M. Goodhue was its editor and owner. He represented the intense personal journalism of the last century in the extreme west as pointedly as James Gordon Bennett, of the New York Herald, in the extreme east.

Goodhue was born in Hebron, New Hampshire, March 31st, 1810, was graduated from Amherst College in 1832, studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced some time in the East and in Wisconsin, before becoming an editor. The Pioneer of April 15th, 1852, gives the following graphic description of his coming to Minnesota, then a Territory only a few days more than six weeks old.

The 18th day of April, 1849, was a raw, cloudy day. The steamboat Senator, Capt. Smith, landed at Randall's warehouse, lower landing, the only building then there except Robert's old store. . . . Took our press,

*Read in a series of five papers at monthly meetings of the Executive Council, Feb. 10 and Nov. 10, 1902, Feb. 9 and Oct. 12, 1903, and Feb. 8, 1904.

types, and printing apparatus all ashore. Went with our men to the house of Mr. Bass, corner of Third and Jackson streets. He kept the only public house in St. Paul; and it was crowded full, from cellar to garret. Mr. Bass was very obliging and did everything possible for our encouragement. The next thing was a printing office; and that it seemed impossible to obtain. Made the acquaintance of C. P. V. Lull and his partner, Gilbert. They furnished us, gratuitously, the lower story of their building for an office—the only vacant room in town. . . . The weather was cold and stormy, and our office was as open as a corn-rick. However, we picked our types up and made ready for the issue of the first paper ever printed in Minnesota or within many hundred miles of it; but upon search we found our news chase was left behind. William Nobles, blacksmith, made us a very good one after a delay of two or three days.

The paper was to be named "The Epistle of Saint Paul," as announced in our prospectus, published in the February preceding; but we found so many little Saints in the Territory, jealous of Saint Paul, that we determined to call our paper "The Minnesota Pioneer." One hindrance after another delayed our first issue to the 28th of April, ten days.

The uncomfortable surroundings of the editor while in the Lull building are humorously referred to in the Pioneer of June 28th, 1849. He says: "Not that we would find fault with the pigs, for it is all owing to their bringing up; but really our equanimity is somewhat ruffled, if our chair is not jostled, by the movements of their hard backs under our loose floor." Quite a step from that rude room and its little hand press to the stately Pioneer Building and its power presses of today!

After a few weeks in the Lull building Goodhue found a better location for his office in the second story of a frame building on the south side of Third street, between Minnesota and Robert streets. It was owned by Samuel H. Sargent, who used the first story for a store. The Lull and Sargent buildings were both burned in the fire that swept lower Third street in 1860.

The Minnesota Pioneer was a four-page, six-column sheet. A copy of the first number is in the vault of the Historical Society. It is still in a fair state of preservation, but soon will be worn out if kept in the regular files. Allow me to suggest that it be framed, with a glass on each side, and hung where it can be examined but not handled.

October 4th, 1849, Goodhue enlarged the Pioneer to seven columns, and on the 11th his brother, Isaac N. Goodhue, became junior editor. November 7th, 1850, the name of the

brother disappeared from the paper, and James M. Goodhue continued it alone.

As soon as possible after coming to St. Paul, Mr. Goodhue built a cheap one-story house for his family. It faced Bench (now Second) street, between Cedar and Wabasha. It was but little better than a shack. In 1850 he built a better house on St. Peter and Third streets, his garden running back towards Fourth street on the ground that the jail now occupies. After his second residence was completed, he turned the first into a printing office. This was enlarged in 1851 by annexing a barn that stood conveniently near. There the printing office remained until 1854, when it went to the southeast corner of Third and Jackson street.

Goodhue knew well how to crayon with words. More than fifty years ago he pictured in a single graphic sentence a comparison between St. Paul and St. Anthony, now Minneapolis, that still holds pointedly true—"There can be no rivalry between them any more than there can be between a steam boat and a cotton factory, or a coal barge and a trip hammer."

In the stroke of another sentence he pictured the destiny of the Indian: "Before those two great engines of civilization, the whiskey shop and the printing office, the poor Indians stand no more chance than so many Mexicans before two batteries of grape and canister."

In the issue of June 10th, 1852, he says to a young man who wants information about the churches, education, and weather of the territory: "As multiplying churches will no more annihilate sin than multiplying insurance offices will annihilate fires. the number of our churches affords no certain index of the degree of piety and morality attained to in St. Paul. . . . . As for intellect, we have several of the greatest men of the age here; and they will own it themselves..... The coldest day last winter froze the mercury (but then that was owing to exposing the thermometer to the cold weather!)" Mingled with these odd announcements, Goodhue gives the young man much valuable information. Evidently he punctuated that way to make his advice more effective.

His oddly graphic way of putting things is further shown in his description of the livery stable of one of his early patrons.

He says: "His livery horses are none of your lank, spavined, ring-boned, foundered, half-hipped, wheezing, hoof-bound, knock-kneed, gambrel-legged, sore-headed, shadowy animals that look as if they had just come limping out of the Apocalypse, the progeny of the pale horse described in the Revelation, which Death and Hell followed after."

In his editorial correspondence to his paper he says in answer to questions about St. Paul: "The town looks as if the seed for a multitude of tenements had been scattered yesterday upon a bed of guano, and had sprouted up into cabins, and stores, and sheds, and warehouses, fresh from the sawmill since the last sun shone." Then he went on as usual to tell what fine openings were here for everybody to come and fill.

Some one had expressed a fear of what we now call a boom and a consequent revulsion. He replies: "As to whether there will be a revulsion sometime in St. Paul, we can only say we have no doubt of it. We should expect nothing else of a town which has in it the elements of a vigorous growth; but we would not recommend the cultivation of dwarf apple trees for fear that thrifty trees might have the tips of their limbs nipped by the frosts of winter, would you?"

Such was this gifted character in his sunny moods. But when he stood, strong limbed and deep rooted, in the stress of storm, impracticable as he was, one can not help admiring the dauntless moral courage of the man. This is the way he saw the duty and mission of an editor in those days of careless indifference and low morality: "Let an editor slash away,—anything but salve, salve, salve, when the dissecting knife is needed. The journal that does nothing but paddle along with public opinion, without breasting the current of popular errors, is of no value—none whatever."

Charles K. Smith, the Territorial secretary, whom he blamed for delaying the pay for the Government printing he had done, was removed in 1851. As he went out of St. Paul, Goodhue gave him this characteristic parting dig: "He stole into the Territory, he stole in the Territory, and then stole out of the Territory."

The Pioneer editorial on Alexander Mitchell and David Cooper of January 16th, 1851, is a fair sample of the editorial slashings of Goodhue. Mitchell was the United States marshal,

and Cooper was associate justice of the Territory. Cooper, it is said, wanted to be Chief Justice. Goodhue did not like their repeated absences, nor their conduct generally. Finally he attacked them in an editorial of near a column in length. Of the marshal he said: "Since the organization of the Teritory, Mitchell has not been in it long enough by a continued residence to be entitled to vote; yet he has been long enough here to be known as a man utterly destitute of moral principle, manly bearing, or even physical courage." Of Judge Cooper he said: "He is lost to all sense of decency and self-respect. Off of the Bench he is a beast, and on the Bench he is an ass, stuffed with arrogance,, self-conceit, and a ridiculous affectation of dignity." He closed the editorial as follows:

> We have had enough officers who are daily liable to arrest under the vagabond act; who never set a good example, perform an honest act, or pay an honest debt. We can endure much without complaint. It is less the need of a marshal and a judge that we complain of, than of the infliction of such incumbents. Feeling some resentment for the wrongs our territory has so long suffered by these men pressing upon us like a dispensation of wrath, a judgment, a curse, a plague, unequaled since the hour when Egypt went lousy, we sat down to write this article with some bitterness; but our very gall is honey to what they deserve.

The affidavit of John F. Tehan, printed in the Pioneer of the next week, January 23rd, states that the fight on account of this editorial occurred between Goodhue and Joseph Cooper, a brother of Judge Cooper, between eleven and twelve o'clock of Wednesday, the 15th, the Pioneer having been issued that week a day in advance of its publication day. From the affidavit it appears that Cooper acted on the offensive, and Goodhue on the defensive. Goodhue was stabbed twice, and Cooper was shot once. As Goodhue wrote for the Pioneer of February 6th nearly three columns of editorial, hardly less venomous than the one for which he was attacked, it appears that he could not have been much hurt in the affray.

The fight occurred on St. Anthony street, now Third street, in front of the lot where the Metropolitan Hotel now stands. The details are thus described by a citizen who saw it from start to finish.

> On Wednesday, January 15th, Mr. Joseph Cooper and Mr. Goodhue met on St. Anthony street near the Minnesota Democrat office, and after

exchanging some words, each drew a pistol. They were then partially separated. Mr. Cooper gave up his pistol. Mr. Goodhue's pistol then discharged its load accidentally. Mr. Cooper then rushed upon him and struck him with his fist. Mr. Goodhue then drew another pistol, and while in the act of cocking it, was knocked down by a stone thrown by Mr. Cooper. As Goodhue was rising to his feet Cooper rushed upon him, but was seized by the arm by a bystander, and at this moment was fired upon by Goodhue, receiving the ball in the side. Cooper then broke loose from the party who held him and rushed furiously upon Goodhue, and in a moment inflicted with a dirk knife two wounds upon him, one in his abdomen and one in his side. They were then separated.

I have given considerable space to Goodhue for I have felt that I could not bring the intensely personal journalism of the early fifties into clearer light than by letting its chief exponent speak for himself.

Joseph R. Brown became editor and proprietor of the Pioneer after the death of Goodhue in 1852. He knew him and the needs of those early times as probably no other man knew them. In his editorial tribute published September 1st, 1853, he said:

Many of his editorials would have done no discredit to the New York Herald in its most palmy days. . . . The keenness and brilliancy with which he used his pen remind us of Fitz James' flashing weapon in his combat with Roderick Dhu.

"For, trained abroad his arms to wield,
Fitz James' blade was sword and shield."

James M. Goodhue was a warm and fast friend of Minnesota to the day of his death. He will be remembered with the small band of sturdy men who labored constantly and with iron resolution to establish the pillars of society in our Territory upon a sound moral basis. His press was always found on the side of law, order, temperance, and virtue.

Hon. William P. Murray still lives among us, hale, hearty, and one of our best citizens. He was a forty-niner, and a personal friend of Goodhue. He says: "Goodhue's aim and object was to make St. Paul a great city, not only in good morals but in good government. He advocated with all his ability the passage of laws and ordinances for the better government of its citizens."

Goodhue died Friday evening, August 27th, 1852. He was buried in the family lot in the old part of Oakland cemetery. A fire, and the cutting of some trees, destroyed the identity of his grave. Finally, after the lapse of nearly forty-eight years, excavation of the lot uncovered what was left of the perishable

part of Goodhue. His brother identified the remains, and they were re-interred June 5th, 1900.

THE MINNESOTA CHRONICLE.

The Minnesota Chronicle was the second newspaper printed in Minnesota. It was a four-page, seven-column, Whig paper, published weekly. Its first issue was May 31st, 1849. James Hughes, a former resident of Ohio, was its editor and proprietor.

The Minnesota Register, coming in July, made two Whig papers, while the party in the state was largely in the minority. Each continuing, one and perhaps both would starve. There was nothing to do but to consolidate. Hughes sold his plant to McLean and Owens of the Register, and August 25th, 1849, the first number of the Chronicle and Register appeared, August 9th being the last issue of the Chronicle. It was printed in a small one-story building on the northwest corner of Fifth and Jackson streets. Hughes went to Hudson, Wisconsin, and died there in 1874.

THE MINNESOTA REGISTER.

The third paper printed in Minnesota was the Minnesota Register, its date being July 14th, 1849. It was a Whig, four-page, six-column sheet. An earlier number of the Register was printed in Cincinnati, Ohio, dated Saturday, April 27th, 1849, though Saturday was really April 28th, and was sent to St. Paul by steamboat for distribution. Dr. A. Randall, the editor, did not follow it. He started for California by overland route instead, having taken a position under Col. Collier, collector of the port of San Francisco.

Under date of September 22nd, 1849, the Cincinnati Commercial reported that Randall had been killed in a fight in the Rocky mountains, over some kind of mineral. He was killed by a man who went from near Hamilton, Ohio.

Randall was well known in Minnesota, having been connected with Prof. David Dale Owen's geological survey of the Northwest. It seems that he went to Cincinnati in the fall of 1848 to buy a printing press and material; but winter caught him, and in the spring Goodhue got here first. Placing the outfit with John P. Owens, his partner, Randall started for California, disposing of his interest in it to Nathaniel McLean while on his way. This was done by letter from Fort Leavenworth

under date of May 17th, 1849. Accordingly, the issue of July 14th had N. McLean and J. P. Owens at its head.

The Register was run until August 18th, 1849, when, a consolidation having been effected with the Chronicle, also a Whig paper, the name was changed to Minnesota Chronicle and Register, a four-page, seven-column issue, with Hughes and Owens as editors and proprietors. This would indicate that McLean had stepped out, but it seems that he was not in the Territory when the union of the papers was made. He arrived soon afterward, however, and approved it; but I find no explanation made of the absence of his name from the first number of the combination.

After the arrival of McLean, a proposition to sell or buy was made to Hughes. Hughes sold, and August 25th the paper appeared, with McLean, Owens, and Quay, editors and publishers, Quay having been the printer of the Chronicle. September 15th the name of Quay disappeared from the combination, and McLean and Owens became editors and publishers of the paper. August 12th, 1850, L. A. Babcock purchased it. He, in turn, sold to Charles J. Henniss. The transfer was made November 25th, 1850. He ran it until February 10th, 1851, when a reference to a circular issued to Whigs, expressing dissatisfaction with Henniss, appeared in the paper, and it was sold and absorbed by the Minnesota Democrat. Henniss was collector of the port of St. Paul from 1851 to 1853. He died February 14th, 1856.

The Register was first printed on St. Anthony (now Third) street, nearly opposite the head of Hill street. In 1851 it moved into a building then standing partly on the ground that the Metropolitan Hotel now occupies. It later moved into the stone building owned by Col. D. A. Robertson on the present site of the McQuillan Block, at the northeast corner of Third and Wabasha streets, having been merged into the Minnesota Democrat as before noted.

NATHANIEL M'LEAN.

Major Nathaniel McLean was born in Morris County, New Jersey, May 16th, 1787. He was a brother of Judge John McLean of the United States Supreme Court, and an officer in the War of 1812. He began his journalistic career in Ohio where he was editor and publisher of the Western Star, at Lebanon, about the year 1811. From 1810 to 1820 he represented

his dictrict in the Ohio legislature. McLean purchased the interest of Dr. Randall in the Minnesota Register in May, 1849, and John P. Owens brought the press and material to St. Paul, and in July began its publication. McLean, detained by illness, did not get here until about the middle of August.

Nov. 3rd, 1849, McLean was appointed agent of the Sioux Indians at Fort Snelling, and August 12th, 1850, when Babcock bought the Chronicle and Register, McLean bid farewell to journalism. He held the office of Indian agent until the spring of 1853. He was one of the most prominent of the Whigs in those days, and a fine man in every sense of the word. He died in St. Paul, April 11th, 1871, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

JOHN P. OWENS.

John P. Owens was another unique creator of Minnesota journalism. In his genial, blunt, and careless ways he resembled Goodhue. His humorous description of the wedding of the Pioneer and Democrat, printed November 2nd, 1855, in the Minnesotian, is equal to the best that Goodhue ever wrote. He could hold his own in the personal journalistic scraps of those days, also, with the best of them, as is shown in his article of September 24th, 1851, in the Minnesotian, headed "Orful Times." Captain Dodd, one of those against whom it was aimed, knocked him down and beat him severely for it a few days after. His bitter attack upon Col. D. A. Robertson in the issue of the Minnesotian of November 13th, 1851, was a severely caustic arraignment of a journalistic opponent.

Mr. Owens was born in Dayton, Ohio, January 6th, 1818, was educated in Woodward College, Cincinnati, and afterward learned the printer's trade, but early turned to journalism. He was an ardent Whig, and in the celebrated Harrison campaign of 1840 did his party effective service, in burlesquing Ohio Democratic meetings, over the name of Joe Davis. He came to St Paul in the latter part of May, 1849, bringing the printing outfit of the Minnesota Register, of which he was part owner. Major McLean, as already mentioned, did not come until the following August. In the meantime Owens went ahead and got out the Register, the first issue printed in the Territory being July 14th.

In 1862 Mr. Owens was appointed quartermaster of the Ninth Minnesota Infantry, and served until discharged in 1865.

being meantime commissioned a colonel. In 1869 he was appointed register of the United States Land Office at Taylor's Falls, Minnesota, and died there on the 11th of September, 1884.

THE DAKOTA FRIEND.

The fourth newspaper venture started in Minnesota was the Dakota Friend. It was a monthly missionary paper printed half in English and half in the Dakota language. It began in 1850 and lasted about two years. Rev. Gideon H. Pond was its editor. Of this paper Goodhue said in the Pioneer of March 6th, 1851: "The little press of the Chronicle office has been horribly twisted and distorted by printing the crooked Sioux dialect of The Friend."

THE MINNESOTA DEMOCRAT.

The fifth paper started in Minnesota was the Minnesota Democrat. It was a four-page, seven-column weekly, owned and edited by Col. D. A. Robertson. The date of its first issue was December 10th, 1850. It was started in the interest of one of the Democratic factions of that day. Henniss of the Whig Chronicle and Register, and Robertson of the Democrat, combined their forces against Goodhue of the Pioneer, to get the public printing. Goodhue won, and soon afterward Henniss sold his press and material to Robertson.

The Democrat was first published in the same building with the Chronicle and Register, where the Metropolitan Hotel (formerly the Winslow House) now stands. In 1851 it was moved to Col. Robertson's new building at the northeast corner of Third and Wabasha streets. June 29th, 1853, Robertson sold the paper to David Olmsted, who, on May 1st, 1854, began the publication of a four-page, six-column, evening daily.

September 6th, 1854, Charles L. Emerson purchased the Democrat, and ran it until August 11th, 1855, when he sold to Joseph R. Brown, from whom Earle S. Goodrich had purchased the Pioneer in March of the preceding year. October 31st, 1855, the two papers were consolidated, and, on November 1st, the first number of the Pioneer and Democrat was issued, a combination which lasted until September 5th, 1862, when Mr. Goodrich severed the hyphenated connection and the paper became the St. Paul Pioneer. The combination owners of the Pioneer and

Democrat were Earle S. Goodrich, Joseph R. Brown, and Frederick Somers of New York.

THE PIONEER AND DEMOCRAT.

Earle S. Goodrich bought the St. Paul Pioneer of Joseph R. Brown in March, 1854, and May 1st of that year began the issue of the Daily Pioneer. In October, 1855, the Pioneer was united with the Minnesota Democrat under the name of Pioneer and Democrat, as above stated. In 1861 Mr. Goodrich became the sole owner. He then associated his brothers, Augustus J. and Frank Goodrich, with him; and in 1862 he entered the army on staff duty with the rank of captain, retaining his interest in the paper.

September 5th, 1862, the name of the paper was changed to the St. Paul Pioneer. In November, 1865, the Pioneer was sold to William F. Davidson, John X. Davidson, and Harlan P. Hall, and became Republican in politics. It ran under the firm name of Davidson and Hall until the following June, Mr. Hall being the editor. Mr. Hall then sold his share to his partners, and they, in turn, sold to the Pioneer Printing Company, composed of Capt. H. L. Carver, C. W. Nash, and others, and the Pioneer again became Democratic.

In March, 1872, the Pioneer Printing Company sold to William S. King. E. E. Paulding was editor until his death in 1873, when A. J. Lamberton was given general charge by Colonel King. In 1874 David Blakeley purchased the paper, and on April 11th, 1875, united it with the St. Paul Press under the present title of Pioneer Press, and the paper became Republican in politics. In this arrangement, J. A. Wheelock, editor of the Press, was associated with Mr. Blakeley in editorial charge of the Pioneer Press, and Frederick Driscoll of the Press became business manager.

The St. Paul Press was started by William R. Marshall. He bought the St. Paul Times, January 1st, 1861, at the time he began the St. Paul Press, and merged it in the Press. January 27th, 1861, he bought the Minnesotian, which in turn was also merged in the Press.

In 1876 the Pioneer Press bought the Minneapolis Tribune and the Mail, and for a time the name of the paper was changed to the Pioneer Press and Tribune, and the Mail was run as an evening paper in Minneapolis. In 1877 Mr. Blakeley sold out of

the Pioneer Press, bought the Mail, became its editor, and changed its name to the Evening Tribune. It afterward became a morning paper and is now the Minneapolis Tribune.

The Pioneer Press ran under Wheelock and Driscoll until a few years ago, when Mr. Driscoll retired; but Mr. Wheelock still remains its editor-in-chief.

COLONEL D. A. ROBERTSON.

Daniel A. Robertson was born in Pictou, Nova Scotia, May 13th, 1813. He was educated as a lawyer and was admitted to practice in 1839; but, like Goodhue, he soon abandoned the profession for journalism. He was owner and editor of the Mt. Vernon (Ohio) Democrat in 1843, and in 1844 became editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer. In 1846 he was appointed United States marshal in Ohio, served four years, and in 1850 came to St. Paul and started the Democrat as already stated. He was appointed a colonel in the state militia in 1858; was a member of the Minnesota legislature in 1859-60; and afterward was elected sheriff of Ramsey county and served four years.

October 4th, 1866, Colonel Robertson organized the Fruit Growers' Association, the parent of the Minnesota Horticultural Society, and was elected its first president. He was one of the first to introduce fruit culture into Minnesota, and the very first to draw attention to sections of Russia similar in climate to ours, and to advocate getting fruit scions from such localities. From this far-sighted advice some of the best varieties of apples now cultivated in Minnesota have resulted.

In politics Colonel Robertson was known as an Independent Democrat. He was able, fearless, and quite as virulent in his personal journalistic attacks upon political opponents as Goodhue or John P. Owens. His article of September 30th, 1851, on Owens is as caustic as anything Goodhue ever wrote. He died in St. Paul, March 16th, 1895.

DAVID OLMSTED.

David Olmsted, who followed Robertson as owner and editor of the Democrat, merits more than a passing notice. He was born in Fairfax, Vermont, May 5th, 1822. He came west when young and was elected from Clayton County, Iowa, to the Iowa Constitutional Convention in the fall of 1845, when in the twenty-fourth year of his age. In the fall of 1847 he went into

the Winnebago Indian trade at Fort Atkinson, Iowa; and in the summer of 1848, when the Winnebagoes were removed to Long Prairie, Minnesota, he went with them. He established a trading house there and also at St. Paul.

August 7th, 1849, he was elected a member of the first Territorial Council of Minnesota, was chosen its president, and was also a member of the Council of 1851. In 1853 he purchased the Minnesota Democrat and became its editor, as previously stated. April 4th, 1854, he was elected the first mayor of St. Paul. In 1855 he removed to Winona and became involved in the triangular contest between Rice, Olmsted, and Marshall, for Territorial delegate to Congress, in which he was defeated by Henry M. Rice. Shortly afterward his health began to fail, and he died in his old home in Vermont, February 2nd, 1861. Olmsted was a Democrat of the old school, an able, upright man, and one of the leaders in the formative period of Minnesota.

THE WATAB REVEILLE.

The sixth newspaper in order of date, was the Watab Reveille, which purported to be edited by J. W. "Chaskarack," and to be published at Watab, Benton County. "Chaskarack" was J. W. Vincent, who came here with Cole Martin, whom many of our pioneer residents will remember. The paper never saw Watab. It was printed and circulated by Charles J. Henniss from the office of the Chronicle and Register.

The first issue was dated January 13th, 1851. It was a small, four-column sheet, and only three or four numbers seem to be in existence. In the first number "Chaskarack" says: "In politics we shall be Democratic or Whig, just as may best serve our interests. In this respect we are aware that we differ from some of our contemporaries in this territory who have been long working for the good of the public, a party, the territory, etc.; but we wish it distinctly understood that we enter upon this enterprise with an eye single to the loaves and fishes. We are after the public printing, and everything else out of which money can be made."

The editor did not secure the public printing. It seems also that in some way Governor Ramsey had displeased him, for, in the list of the eight leaders of the Whig party that he published, the name of the governor appears at the foot of the list in agate type, nearly the smallest known, and without the dignity of

even a capital letter, while that of D. B. Loomis, of Stillwater, stands at the head of the list in the largest type used on his adverising page.

The chief performance of "Chaskarack" remembered by the old settlers is a visit he made to the Legislature one day when he was as full as even the customs of those early days permitted. In some way he got into the Speaker's chair and undertook to run the House. It was rare fun for some of the members, but others didn't like it and sent for the soldiers. "Chaskarack," hearing of this, scattered a pocketful of silver broadcast over the floor, saying, "Here's your pay. The House is adjourned."

Vincent died in St. Paul in March, 1852.

THE ST. ANTHONY EXPRESS.

One day in April, 1851, Elmer Tyler, a tailor of St. Anthony, proposed to Isaac Atwater, a young attorney, to buy a press and start a newspaper if Atwater would edit it. His reason for doing this was that the two sides of the river at the falls would one day have ten thousand people, and he thought it was time to make St. Anthony better known. Atwater considered the idea preposterous, but finally consented to edit the paper if Tyler would buy the outfit and run it. That was the beginning of the St. Anthony Express, the seventh newspaper started in Minnesota.

Tyler got everything ready, and Atwater began to write his editorials. It was a four-page, seven-column, Whig paper, published weekly, and its first issue was May 31st, 1851. The Express was the first paper printed in Minnesota outside of St. Paul. Tyler soon got out beyond his depth. Atwater then had to advance money to keep the venture afloat. Tyler soon quit, and Atwater had the paper on his hands. August 2nd, 1851, Woodbury and Hollister succeeded him as publishers. May 28th, 1852, George D. Bowman arrived from Pennsylvania, and Atwater arranged with him to edit the paper so that he could have more time to devote to his rapidly increasing law business.

August 5th, 1855, Atwater resumed control of the Express, and the politics of the paper became Democratic. March 29th, 1856, D. S. B. Johnston became associate editor, his first editorial being entitled "Parties and Factions." His name does not appear in the paper, however, until August 23rd, 1856, his Democracy being on trial. In August, 1857, D. S. B. Johnston and

Charles H. Slocum purchased the paper from Judge Atwater, Johnston becoming editor, and Slocum publisher. In the fall of 1860 Slocum retired and Johnston went on alone until the latter part of May, 1861. Then the Express carried Johnston under the waves that followed the hard times of 1857; and, since he "came up," Minnesota journalism, until he began this series of papers, interested him no more.

The wrecked outfit was sold to Hon. John L. MacDonald, of Shakopee, who started the Shakopee Argus with it. Johnston lost nearly four years of time that were pretty valuable in those hustling days, and Atwater says he is still about three thousand dollars short on the venture.

HON. ISAAC ATWATER.

Hon. Isaac Atwater was graduated from Yale College, and studied law, in which he has taken high rank. He was elected associate-juctice of the Supreme Court at the first election held after Minnesota became a state, and still resides in Minneapolis, universally respected by all who know him. Journalism was more of a recreation from the onerous exactions of his profession than otherwise, and proved about as profitable as Horace Greeley's farming. He was an easy, fluent, effective writer; and Major Hotchkiss, doubtless, still feels the sting of many a keen shaft that came across the river from the editorial sanctum in St. Anthony.

GEORGE D. BOWMAN.

George D. Bowman was born in Wilkesbarre, Pa., March 11th, 1827; was educated at Bloomsburg (Pa.) Academy; and edited the first paper published in Schuylkill county. He came to Minnesota May 28th, 1852, and became editor of the St. Anthony Express, as already stated. He was afterward connected with the Atlas of Minneapolis. Returning to Pennsylvania in 1861, he established the Clinton County Republican at Lock Haven, Pa. He was then appointed register of the U. S. Land Office at Mesilla, New Mexico, and afterward went into the banking business at Las Cruses, N. M., the firm being George D. Bowman and Sons. He died at Las Cruses, April 27th, 1903.

It has been said that Charles Hoag first suggested the name Minneapolis for the west side of the river at St. Anthony Falls, instead of Albion, which the county commissioners of Hennepin

county had selected. An interview with Daniel L. Payne, who at that time was working on the St. Anthony Express, was published shortly before the death of Payne a few years ago. In this interview Payne said that during a meeting called at the office of Col. John H. Stevens, to see if a better name than Albion could be found, Colonel Stevens suggested that Minnehaha be compounded with the Greek word *polis* in some way. Bowman suggested dropping "ha" from the combination, making the name Minnehapolis. Payne advised dropping the other "ha," leaving Minnepolis. The conference ended by taking "hah" from Minnehaha and attaching *polis*. Minneapolis was the result. The combination of *polis* with Minnehaha was no doubt first suggested by Charles Hoag and seconded by Colonel Stevens; but the exact way in which the combination was made was probably as stated by Payne. Bowman advocated the name so persistently that is was finally adopted.

D. S. B. JOHNSTON.

I suppose it is due to a correct account of early journalism and its editors that I should sketch my own history. I was born in South Bainbridge (now Afton), New York, May 17th, 1832; prepared for the Hamilton College sophomore year at the Delaware Literary Institute in Franklin, Delaware county, New York; but, instead of entering college, began teaching school in 1849, and continued teaching in my home county, Chenango, until the spring of 1855.

I came to St. Paul July 20th, 1855, and shortly afterward opened a select school on ground subsequently occupied by the Minneapolis Exposition building in St. Anthony (now the east part of Minneapolis); became connected with the St. Anthony Express in March, 1856, and was afterward its half owner: began the insurance business in 1864, and followed that until 1874; then organized a farm loan business, which was incorporated in 1885, with $300,000 capital. We loaned about two and a half million dollars for eastern investors. In 1898, upon our purchase of nearly 477,000 acres of Northern Pacific Railroad lands, the company became a land company exclusively, under the name of D. S. B. Johnston Land Company. Of this I am president, and my two sons, Charles L. Johnston and A. D. S. Johnston, are vice president and secretary.

THE MINNESOTIAN.

The Minnesotian was the eighth newspaper begun in the Territory. The first issue was dated September 17th, 1851, and was printed in a small building at the corner of Fifth and Jackson streets, where the Galena House was afterward built. It was owned by a company. John P. Owens, formerly associated with Major McLean in running the Chronicle and Register, became the editor, and John C. Terry, publisher. It was a four-page, seven-column paper, and as intensely Whig as the papers of Goodhue and Colonel Robertson were Democratic in politics.

The issue of January 10th, 1852, had George W. Moore associated, and the management was Owens and Moore. Owens was editor, and Moore business manager. This paper was first published in the little Chronicle office on Fifth street, corner of Jackson, but in 1853 was removed to the northeast corner of Cedar and Third streets. Here May 11th, 1854, the Daily Minnesotian, a seven-column paper, was issued. May 22nd, 1854, H. P. Pratt became equally interested with Owens and Moore in the publication of the Minnesotian, but Pratt died May 8th, 1855. May 11th, 1857, the daily enlarged to eight columns; and Oct. 19th Dr. Thomas Foster purchased the interest of Owens and the management became Foster and Moore. January 1st, 1858, the daily went back to seven columns; and May 11th, following, it resumed its eight-column edition. November 25th, 1858, J. Fletcher Williams, afterward secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, became local editor of the paper.

December 17th, 1859, the Minnesotian and Times consolidated, the Minnesotian and Times Printing Company being proprietors, and Newson, Moore, Foster and Co., publishers. Eight columns was the size of the consolidated paper, and the concern moved from the corner of Third and Minnesota streets to the old Post Office building on Bridge Square. March 15th, 1860, the combination dropped to six columns, because, as it says in that issue, 31 Democrats and 16 Republicans had agreed to give the state printing to Holly and Brown. June 21st, 1860, notice of dissolution of the combination Minnesotian and Times was published by the Times, with the statement that the Times would thereafter be published and edited by T. M. Newson, the same as before the consolidation, and that the Minnesotian joint stock

company, with Thomas Foster as agent and editor, would also continue, George W. Moore having retired.

The two papers were thus separately run in the two stories below the street level in the old Post Office building until January 1st, 1861, when the material of the Times was purchased by William R Marshall, and on January 27th the material of the Minnesotian. The plants of both were used to start the St. Paul Press. The Minnesotian closes the record of newspapers established during 1851.

DR. THOMAS FOSTER.

Dr. Foster was born May 18th, 1818, in Philadelphia, Pa. He was educated as a physician, but early abandoned the medical for the editorial profession. In 1836, when eighteen years old, he became editor of the Wilkesbarre Advocate, a Whig paper. In 1837 he returned to Philadelphia, and became news editor of the Philadelphia Public Ledger. After leaving that paper, he served in various journalistic capacities, until 1848, when he became secretary of the Pennsylvania State Committee, of which Hon. Alexander Ramsey was chairman. On President Taylor's election he was made secretary of the Electoral College, and when Mr. Ramsey was appointed the first Territorial Governor of Minnesota, Foster went with him as his private secretary.

August 21st, 1851, Dr. Foster made a claim to government land near Hastings, Minnesota. He was the first man to settle there after the treaty was made with the Sioux Indians at Mendota. Afterward, for a time he was physician to the Upper Sioux, with location near Sleepy Eye village. October 19th, 1857, he purchased the interest of John P. Owens in the Minnesotian of St. Paul, and remained its editor until January 27th, 1861, when the plant was purchased by William R. Marshall and combined with the Times, as has been stated, to start the St. Paul Press, which is now a part of the Pioneer Press.

Dr. Foster was a delegate to the convention to frame the constitution of the State of Minnesota, being the only Republican chosen from Ramsey county. At the second state election, when Alexander Ramsey was elected governor, Dr. Foster again became his private secretary. During the war, Dr. Foster was assistant commissary of subsistence, and was stationed most of the time at Indianapolis, Indiana. After the war, he returned to

Minnesota, and was for a time editor of the Chronicle of Minneapolis He was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Minnesota, in 1857, edited the St. Paul Dispatch during the campaign of 1868, and shortly afterward established the Duluth Minnesotian.

After remaining in Duluth several years, he entered the United States service, and had several important appointments; but during President Cleveland's second administration he was summarily removed for "offensive partisanship." After President McKinley was elected, he was reinstated; and finally, on September 20th, 1897, he was put in charge of the stationery division, under Henry A. Castle, auditor of the Post Office Department, at Washington. He resigned the position September 20th, 1902, and died in San Francisco, California, March 31st, 1903, at the age of eighty-five years.

T. M. Newson, who owned and edited the St. Paul Times in the fifties, and who had considerable to do with Dr. Foster in a business way, calls him in his "Pen Pictures" an "editorial tyrant." Newson, however, was a pretty positive character himself. The two couldn't agree, and when they came together the sparks flew. Governor Ramsey got along easily enough with Dr. Foster, and so did everyone else who saw the good in him and kept clear of his sharp corners. Whatever might be said of him personally, he was a man of marked ability, and contributed largely to the establishment of the Republican party in Minnesota.

J. FLETCHER WILLIAMS.

John Fletcher Williams was born September 25th, 1834. He was educated in Woodward College and the Ohio Wesleyan University; came to St. Paul in 1855; and was reporter and city editor of different St. Paul dailies during the following twelve years. For a short time he was private secretary of Governor Miller, and from 1864 to 1871 he was a member of the Board of Education of St. Paul. From 1871 to 1876 he was a member of the United States Centennial Commission from Minnesota. He also held many responsible offices among the Odd Fellows. In 1876 he wrote a history of St. Paul, which in chronicling leading events is very useful. In 1867 he was elected secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, in which office he

continued until September 11th, 1893, when he resigned on account of ill health. He died April 28th, 1895.

Mr. Williams never learned the meaning of the little word "rest." Work wore him out at sixty-one, when he ought to have lived till eighty.

THE NORTHWESTERN DEMOCRAT.

The Northwestern Democrat was the ninth Minnesota paper, and the only one started in 1853. It began its existence in St. Anthony. Prescott and Jones were its editors and proprietors. The first issue was dated July 13th, 1853. It was a four-page, six-column, Democratic weekly. May 24th, 1854, it was enlarged to seven columns.

August 2nd, 1854, it was sold to W. Augustus Hotchkiss, who on August 19th moved it to Minneapolis, because, as he said, he wanted to print the first newspaper published west of the river. July 5th, 1856, he endorsed Fremont and Dayton, the Republican candidates for President and Vice President. July 19th, he changed the name to Minnesota Democrat; and on August 1st, 1857, he enlarged it to eight columns, and placed the motto "Thoroughly Jeffersonian" at its head.

October 17th, 1857, is the date of the last number in the library of the Historical Society. It shortly afterward passed into the hands of Joel B. Bassett, who sold it to W. F. Russell of Shakopee. Russell moved to Minneapolis, and changed the name to the Gazette. It ran about a year, when the press and material went back to Bassett. In 1858 C. H. Pettit and John G. Williams bought the outfit and with it started the Minneapolis Journal, which in 1859 was absorbed in the Atlas by W. S. King.

W. AUGUSTUS HOTCHKISS.

Like others of us in early days, Hotchkiss was considered cranky in some of his editorial notions. No one, however, can gainsay his honesty and patriotism. He served in the Third United States Artillery in the Mexican War, and at the outbreak of the Rebellion he was on hand again. He was mustered in as a private, October 10th, 1861; but was commissioned captain of the Second Battery of Minnesota Light Artillery shortly afterward, and commanded it to the close of the war. December 28th, 1866, he became editor of the Preston Repub-

lican; and the next year he was its proprietor, and is still running it.

JOSEPH R. BROWN.

Although the year 1853 brought only one new paper into existence, it marked the advent into Minnesota journalism of one of the best equipped, all-around politicians that this or any other country has ever seen. A runaway fourteen-year-old drummer boy in the Fifth Infantry under Colonel Leavenworth in 1819 at Fort Snelling, honorably discharged from military service in 1825, beginning the life of a frontier Indian trader, first on the Minnesota river, about a mile above Fort Snelling, later trading at the mouth of the St. Croix, and later still at Gray Cloud island, about fifteen miles below St. Paul, Joseph R. Brown began thus a foundation of good influence over the Sioux Indians that lasted while he lived. In 1840 he laid out a townsite, which he named Dakotah, about a mile above the present site of Stillwater. He also bought from a discharged soldier the first claim ever made in St. Paul, embracing what is now Kittson's Addition, for which he paid $150. He afterward laid out the town of Henderson on the Minnesota river.

In 1841 he was elected representative to the Wisconsin Legislature from Crawford county, which then comprised the whole country between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers. He served three terms in the Legislature of Wisconsin Territory, and was a leading member of the Stillwater Convention, called August 26th, 1848, to elect a delegate and to formulate plans for the organization of the Territory of Minnesota. He was secretary of the first Legislative Council of the Territory, of which David Olmsted was president; was a member in 1851; chief clerk in 1853; member of the Council again in 1855; of the House in 1857; and member of the Constitutional Convention in 1857.

He bought the Pioneer in 1853 after the death of Goodhue, and became one of the ablest editors it has ever had. Fitted by nature for high places in civilized life, he was married to an Indian woman, and was continually going back to the wild life of the Indian tepee; but he bore plainly the stamp of nobility of leadership wherever he went.

In the Sioux Indian War in 1862, Brown was commissioned a major, was wounded at the battle of Birch Coulie, and did ex-

cellent service in bringing the Sioux into subjection and securing the punishment of the leaders of that severe outbreak. This was Joseph Renshaw Brown, a man who in history will always hold a foremost place in the work of shaping the foundations of Minnesota. He was born January 5th, 1805, and died the 9th of November, 1870.

EARLE S. GOODRICH.

Earle S. Goodrich, the successor of Joseph R. Brown, was born in Genesee county, New York, July 27th, 1827. He had some editorial experience in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, at the age of twenty-one, and then became one of the county officers of Brown county. In 1854 he bought the St. Paul Pioneer, as before stated, and for nearly ten years stood in the front rank of Western journalists. He then went into the army and became aid to General McClellan. Resigning his commission, he purchased the St. Paul gas works; and after selling out of that, he engaged in railroad construction. He now spends a considerable portion of his time in St. Paul.

He had no use for the coarse battle axe style of newspaper editing, so common when he came here. He was a gentleman journalist. The bright polished rapier was his style of weapon, and his antagonists always found it ground to a keen razor edge.

JAMES MILLS.

James Mills, now editor-in-chief of the Pittsburg Post, began his journalistic career on that paper in the early fifties. While its local editor, he left the Post in December, 1854, and after a lumber wagon trip of ten days from Dubuque, Iowa, he reached St. Paul and was immediately engaged as associate editor of the Minnesota Democrat, then owned and edited by Joseph R. Brown. When the Democrat was united with the Pioneer in October, 1855, Mr. Mills went with it and became associated with Mr. Goodrich in editing the Pioneer and Democrat. He remained in that capacity until 1863, when he engaged with the Chicago Times under Wilbur F. Story. Soon afterward he became connected with the New York World as its southwest war correspondent in Tennessee and Alabama. After the war, he returned to his old home in Pittsburg and became editor of the Pittsburg Post, where he has lately celebrated the fiftieth year of his connection with that paper.

Mr. Mills gave abundant proof, while here, of the editorial capacity which has since carried him into the front ranks of journalism, and he is remembered warmly by all the Minnesota "old timers" who were so fortunate as to know him.

LOUIS E. FISHER.

Louis E. Fisher was born at Wrentham, Mass., July 15th, 1822. He learned the printing business in Boston, and from 1849 to 1853 was foreman and reporter on the Boston Daily Advertiser. He came to St. Paul in April, 1854, and helped to get out the first issue of the Daily Pioneer, May 1st, 1854. He became foreman of the Pioneer, then city editor, then news editor. After the retirement of James Mills, in 1861, he succeeded him as assistant editor, and finally became managing editor, in which position he remained until the Pioneer was sold to Davidson and Hall and changed from Democratic to Republican in politics. This did not suit the Democrat proclivities of Fisher. He then became assistant editor of the Daily Press, but the next year, when the Pioneer went back to the Democrats, he became its editor-in-chief, and thus remained nearly up to the consolidation of the Pioneer with the St. Paul Press in 1875.

After the two papers were united, he remained assistant editor to Mr. Wheelock for some time, until advancing years made it necessary to take an easier position in another department of the paper, where he remained until his death on March 18th, 1888.

Honest, level-headed, and true as a die in all the relations of life, Louis E. Fisher lived; and only kind thoughts followed him across the dark river, when he died.

THE BOOM OF 1854.

After the advent of the Northwestern Democrat in 1853, came the boom times of 1854, which culminated in the dark financial disasters of 1857. Like town lots, the newspapers felt the inflation. May 1st, 1854, the Pioneer, then owned by Earle S. Goodrich, boomed into a four-page, six-column daily. The Daily Democrat of equal size, under David Olmsted, who bought the weekly from Robertson in June of 1853, and who had just been elected the first mayor of St. Paul, was issued the same day. Next came the Daily Minnesotian, a four-page, seven-column pa-

per, dated May 11th, and the Daily Times, a five-column sheet, came a close fourth on May 15th.

Then began the hopeless struggle of two Democratic and two Republican dailies for existence in St. Paul. The next year the Pioneer and Democrat wisely combined. The Minnesotian and Times held out until 1859, when they also tried it, but too late. Both furnished food for the vigorous young St. Paul Press, William R. Marshall's paper, which later was combined in turn with the Pioneer, becoming the present Pioneer Press.

THE MINNESOTA TIMES.

The Minnesota Times was the tenth newspaper established in Minnesota. The Daily Times began a four-page, five-column sheet, May 15th, 1854. The Weekly Times followed on the 23rd. T. M. Newson was editor, and T. M. Newson and Co., consisting of Newson, J. B. H. Mitchell, and Martin J. Clum, were proprietors and publishers. The paper was Free Soil Independent, but afterward became Republican in politics. The Weekly ran four pages of seven columns each. It was first printed in a stone building on Third street, opposite Franklin street. It was a three-story building, and Newson nearly covered the front and east side with enormous signs. In 1856 the plant was taken into the McClung block on Bridge Square, and there remained until it joined the Minnesotian in 1859, when it moved over to the old Post Office building on the same square. After this combination was broken Newson continued the Times until January 1st, 1861, when it was merged in the St. Paul Press, and Newson gave the venture a good send off in its first issue.

THOMAS M. NEWSON.

With T. M. Newson politics meant principle. He was a good journalist, an able, efficient writer, and, although he seldom took the initiative in the personal journalistic broils of those days, he never ran or came out second best when either he or his party was forced into them. He was born February 22nd, 1827, in New York City, and in 1847 started the first paper published at Birmingham, Conn. He came to St. Paul in 1853, and for about six months was associate editor with Joseph R. Brown on the Pioneer. In the Daily Times of June 21st, 1860, a statement was made by Mr. Newson to the effect that a meeting was held in an upper

room in St. Anthony early in 1855, and that out of it grew the Republican party of Minnesota. The Times then began its Republican career.

After the material of the Times was purchased by Governor Marshall, Newson went into the army as commissary of subsistence, became assistant quartermaster and was brevetted major for meritorious conduct. He, like John P. Owens, refused all opportunities to enrich himself at public expense, and came out of the service a poor man. Say what we may of the early Minnesota editors in other respects, none of them died, as far as I know, with marks of the dishonest dollar upon them. Major Newson was appointed by President Harrison consul to Malaga, Spain, and died at his post March 30th, 1893.

THE MINNESOTA REPUBLICAN.

The eleventh newspaper was the Minnesota Republican of St. Anthony. It was a four-page, seven-column, Republican sheet, owned by a board of about sixty stockholders, of which Dr. V. Fell was secretary. Rev. Charles G. Ames was editor, and Daniel L. Payne, publisher. The first paper was issued October 5th, 1854. January 1st, 1857, the paper was enlarged to eight columns, and September 10th, 1857, it was sold to W. A. Croffut and Edwin Clark, and Ames retired, leaving Croffut as editor and Clark as publisher.

January 7th, 1859, Croffut and Clark changed the name to Minnesota State News. November 5th, 1859, Croffut sold his interest to Uriah Thomas. April 7th, 1860, the News was reduced to seven columns; and finally, early in November, 1863, it was sold to William S. King, and was merged in the Atlas of Minneapolis.

REV. CHARLES G. AMES.

Rev. Charles G. Ames came to Minnesota as a missionary of the Free Will Baptist Church in June, 1851. He built a church in Minneapolis, and became its minister. Restive under the restrictions of its creed, he resigned and became a Unitarian. He then entered the political field, and was elected register of deeds of Hennepin county for 1857 and 1858. In 1861 he was appointed consul for Porto Rico. In later years he went back to the pulpit, and has been pastor of some of the largest Unitarian churches

in the East. Ames took an active part in Kansas and Nebraska politics as an ultra antislavery advocate. He was a brilliant speaker, an able editor, and a thoroughly conscientious man.

THE ST. PAUL FINANCIAL AND REAL ESTATE ADVERTISER.

The St. Paul Financial and Real Estate Advertiser rounded out the dozen of Minnesota newspapers. It was begun November 3rd, 1854, by Charles H. Parker, a banker of St. Paul. It was a three-column weekly. The disproportion of size and name reminds one of Lincoln's description of the little steamboat that had a whistle so large that when it blew the boat had to stop. Joseph A. Wheelock, who for many years has been chief editor of the Pioneer Press, was associated with Parker as editor of the paper. December 27th, 1856, the name was economized to The St. Paul Advertiser, and the size increased to a four-page, six-column sheet. June 13th, 1857, it was further enlarged to seven columns. July 18th, E. S. Barrows became associated as editor, and the next week Wheelock became part proprietor. June 19th, 1858, the paper was sold to the Pioneer and discontinued.

JOSEPH A. WHEELOCK.

Joseph A. Wheelock was born in Nova Scotia in 1831; came to St. Paul in 1850; began his editorial career in the Advertiser in 1854, and remained with it until 1858; became associate editor of the Pioneer and Democrat in 1859; was Minnesota commissioner of statistics in 1860; helped Governor Marshall to establish the St. Paul Press in 1861, and finally became its editor-in-chief: was appointed postmaster of St. Paul on May 4th, 1870; was one of the five commissioners who selected our beautiful Como Park; and has been for some years president of the St. Paul Park Board, where he has done the city inestimable service.

When I first saw him in 1856, I thought he would be in a consumptive's grave in less than a year. That was forty-eight years ago. He has been almost continually in editorial harness since that time, and I don't know but that he will last forty-eight years longer. Certainly he does not yet need anybody to write his editorials for him.

THE ST. CROIX UNION.

The thirteenth Minnesota newspaper was the St. Croix Union. It was begun in Stillwater on November 7th, 1854; was a

four-page, seven-column weekly, Democratic in politics. F. S. Cable was its editor, and Cable and Easton its publishers.

May 12th, 1855, Abbott and Easton succeeded Cable and Easton, M. H. Abbott being editor and publisher. The new editor in his first article said he was in favor of the annexation of Cuba and the Sandwich Islands, as it would materially aid in building up commercial interests on our Pacific shores. I quote this to show what a broad latitude of comprehension some of our early journalists possessed. Abbott, however, was the right man in the right place in the pioneer days of our territory. Nearly every issue of his paper had crisp editorials on the advantages possessed by Minnesota.

He published two stories of the harvest of 1854 that are worth preserving. Major Furber of Cottage Grove threshed 863 bushels of wheat raised on twenty-five acres of sod plowing, and had a market on his farm at $1.30 a bushel. This first crop from wild land paid him forty-five dollars an acre. T. M. Fullerton planted a squash seed that year which grew a vine until October 4th, before the frost killed it. It bore six squashes. They weighed 226 pounds. The largest branch of the vine was 39 feet long and all the branches aggregated 762 feet in length.

The Union went under at some time in 1856. The exact date I have not been able to find.

THE WINONA ARGUS.

The fourteenth newspaper started in the state (or the eighteenth, if we include the four St. Paul dailies) was the Winona Argus. The first number of the Argus was printed December 11th, 1854. It was a four-page, six-column sheet, published by Ashley Jones and Co., and edited by Ashley Jones and Sam Whiting. It was Democratic in politics. June 4th, 1857, Whiting retired and H. B. Cozzens took his place. July 2nd, Cozzens and Waldo took the lead, with Cozzens as editor. September 3rd, 1857, is the last of it in the Historical Society Library. It died about that time, and the Winona Times was started soon after with its material.

WILLIAM ASHLEY JONES.

William Ashley Jones came to Winona as Deputy United States Surveyor. While surveying lands in the summer of 1853, he visited Wabasha prairie, where the city of Winona now stands,

and acquired an interest in the Smith and Johnson town plat and also in the Stevens claim, now Stevens' Addition. In company with Charles H. Berry and E. S. Smith, he established the first banking office in Winona in June, 1853. Mr. Jones also opened a large farm near Winona, now known as the Lamberton farm. He started the Winona Argus December 11th, 1854, as above stated, and was its editor until July 4th, 1857. About 1863 he removed to Dubuque, and there I lost sight of him.

CAPTAIN SAM WHITING.

Captain Sam Whiting was a restless, erratic character. He was a native of Boston. In 1849 he went to Panama, and was editor of the first newspaper printed there. He was in the Arctic expedition in search of Dr. Kane, and was, also, a captain of one of the famous passenger steamers between New York and Liverpool. In 1854 he became one of the first editors of the Winona Argus. He was the first editor of the Winona Republican in 1855, and in 1858 was one of the editors of the Times, also published at Winona.

Afterward he was captain of the steamer Marion, which was seized by the Southern Confederacy before Fort Sumter was captured. Steaming out of Charleston he dipped his colors to the Stars and Stripes when opposite Fort Sumter. The Charleston authorities took him to task for it. Sam replied, "I was born under the Stars and Stripes, have always sailed under them, and by the blessing of God I will die under them." Dying under them proved true, but in a way that Captain Sam little thought at that time. When he became too old for further wandering, he entered the Sailor's Snug Harbor, at New Brighton, on Staten Island, N. Y., and July 30th, 1882, he was found dead in bed, having committed suicide by cutting his throat.

SUMMARY, 1849 TO 1854.

I have given in this paper the names of fourteen weekly and four daily papers, all I have been able to find that were started in Minnesota prior to 1855. Of these the Pioneer, Chronicle, and Register, three in number, appeared in 1849. The Dakota Friend and Minnesota Democrat appeared in 1850; the Watab Reveille, the St. Anthony Express, and the Minnesotian, came in 1851; and the Northwestern Democrat in 1853, no paper having been started in 1852. The year 1854 saw the beginning of the Repub-

lican in St. Anthony; the St. Paul Times and the St. Paul Advertiser; the St. Croix Union, and Winona Argus; and the four dailies of the Pioneer, the Minnesotian, the Democrat, and the Times. Thus the total of new papers in 1854 was nine, counting the dailies.

Only the Pioneer Press, begun as the Minnesota Pioneer, survives. Neither the parties nor populations of those times called for any such lavish waste of editorial talent. The struggles of rival candidates for office, the boom building of a new territory, and the hustle of bright men to get ahead, were the causes of it. All the fierce intensities of personal journalism of course resulted. In other border towns of those early days, some of our editors would have been shot too full of holes for decent interment. Here, however, save the attack of Cooper on Goodhue, and Dodd on Owens, there were no brutal personal affrays. There was reason for this. Our editors, as a rule, were well educated, some of them college graduates. Such men are not of the wild beast type, of which criminals are made. The highest and best of life, set in rough environment, the gathering of clans around their chieftains, the devotion of men to their leaders, the bond that holds friend to friend, and, beyond all, the desire to make this the noble state it has since become, now shine like links of gold through the personal journalism of the early fifties.

The editors of those years who are yet alive are Wheelock, the old-time but still virile chief editor of the Pioneer Press, whose keen lash has often proved him the worthy successor of Goodhue; Goodrich, who could barb an editorial arrow and send it home fatally, and yet so clean-shafted that the wound in his adversary would not bleed; Yale-cultured Atwater, able alike in the editorial chair and forum; the pyrotechnic Charles G. Ames, to whom politics meant principle; and the patriotic Major Hotchkiss, supporting Fremont for the presidency, and placating his "Democratic Republican" conscience by flying "Thoroughly Jeffersonian" at his masthead.

Among those who have passed over the great divide are Goodhue, the fearless hater and exposer of shams; Joseph R. Brown, his successor, born with wildness in his blood, but so superbly gifted that whether in wigwam or legislative hall he was always the leader of men. His political opponents called him by no harsher term than "Joe, the Juggler," while he was only plain,

familiar "Joe Brown" to those who knew him best. Many a man still living remembers the hearty grasp of hand and fervent "God bless you," with which he greeted those who met and parted with him.

Then there was the rollicking-gaited, jovial John P. Owens, the "Rough and Ready" of the editorial fraternity of the fifties; his associate, the sedate and self-balanced McLean; and Col. D. A. Robertson, the hero of many a rough and tumble political struggle. There were also David Olmsted, the talented first mayor of St. Paul, quiet, determined, and holding his friends with hooks of steel; T. M. Newson, the natty, good-natured editor of the Times, and author of Pen Pictures of "Old Timers;" and the erratic Sam Whiting, gifted, but closing his life so sadly by suicide.

None of these early editors became rich from journalistic gains. They found the country new, privations many, difficulties everywhere hedging them about; and yet no land in its pioneer days was ever blessed with a more loyal or royal set of names at the head of its newspapers.

Second Paper, 1855.

During 1855 the disorganized Whigs began to rally their broken ranks under the banners of the new Republican party, and Minnesota journalism gradually began to broaden to the discussion of national policies. The whiskey-and-tobacco, rough-and-ready, fight-today-and-good-fellow-tomorrow methods, of which early journalism was largely the exponent, were going down among the shadows of the past. The attritions of masses of people moving to new homes were rapidly making old settler memories of the conflicts of the clans. Minnesota had come to a time of better things.

Five weekly and four daily newspapers appeared in 1854, as has previously been stated. Nine weeklies and one daily, the St. Paul Press, appeared in 1855. St. Paul had five daily papers in that year to supply a population of 4,716 people, whereas in 1904, with a population of nearly or quite 200,000, it has but four. The

five dailies of 1855 were the extravagant heritage of a period when each political aspirant felt compelled to send newspaper trumpeters before him at whatever cost.

Of these superfluous St. Paul dailies death soon harvested the St. Paul Press. The Minnesotian and Times, tattered and torn by the financial cyclone of 1857, went down at the close of 1860. The St. Paul Pioneer, combining with the Democrat, escaped the storm.

ST. PETER'S COURIER.

St. Peter's Courier was the name of the fifteenth newspaper started in the Territory. It was a four-page, six-column, Democratic weekly, published at St. Peter, Nicollet county, and owned by Governor W. A. Gorman, president of the St. Peter Company. The first issue was January 4th, 1855. J. C. Stoever, now deceased, was editor and publisher. Being out of line with the politics of the paper, he retired, and on July 12th Henry B. Smyth took his place. Vol. 2, No. 1, of the paper was announced when only forty-one weekly publications had been made. Smyth then delivered a florid, fine-print valedictory of a column, and A. J. Morgan, familiarly known as Jack Morgan, saluted with another column. In the same issue the name was changed to the St. Peter Weekly Courier. Its motto was "No North, No South, No East, No West." Somewhere between April 26th and May 21st, 1856, the name of Morgan was dropped from the head of its editorial columns without explanation, and its motto was changed by an editorial wit of the time to "No North, no South, no East, no West, and no Editor."

December 10th, 1856, the paper was enlarged to seven columns, but it was not until June 19th, 1857, that another editor, Everitt O. Foss, succeeded Morgan. I am informed, however, that Thomas M. Perry, formerly of Detroit, Michigan, but now connected with the St. Peter Herald, had control a part of the time while no name appeared at the head of the editorial columns of the Courier. January 1st, 1858, is the last of the paper in the Historical Library, though it continued to run until July, 1858. Foss, its last editor, came from Dover, N. H., and, according to the best information I can get, he returned to that place, and is now connected with a paper published there. The Courier was the first newspaper printed in the Minnesota Valley.

Showing the prodigal use of money on newspapers hurried into new towns at that early day, the St. Paul Democrat of January 10th, 1855, commented thus: "A newspaper named St. Peter's Courier came yesterday from the town of St. Peter, Nicollet county. Truly no end of wonders. Here's a town which six months ago was not a town or hardly anything else, which now boasts a newspaper, respectable as to size and appearance." And the Democrat might have enlarged its "no end of wonders," at the same date, by saying that St. Paul was supplying its 4,716 people with four daily newspapers.

JOHN C. STOEVER.

John C. Stoever, the first editor of the St. Peter's Courier, was born in Germantown, Pa., January 5th, 1824. He learned the printer's trade in the office of the Germantown Telegraph. In 1847 he moved to Chicopee, Mass., and was editor and publisher of the Chicopee Telegraph, a Whig paper, seven years. In 1854 he came to St. Peter, Minn., and took charge of the St. Peter's Courier; but in 1855 he moved to Henderson, Sibley county, and in 1856 published the Henderson Democrat, but did not edit it.

Mr. Stoever was a member of the Minnesota Legislature from Sibley county early in 1869, and in the fall was appointed United States collector of customs at Pembina, and held the office six years. In early life Mr. Stoever was a Whig, and when that party went under he became a Republican; and though he was more or less connected with Democratic papers of early times in Minnesota, it was as publisher, and not as editor.

ANDREW J. MORGAN.

Jack Morgan, as he was called by his associates, was short-statured, large-headed, and self-important, as most men of that build are apt to be. He stood well in the Democratic party, of which he was a valuable and voluble member. He was a printer by trade, a brother of Gen. George W. Morgan, who was prominent in the Mexican War; and his mother was a sister of one of the secretaries of the United States Treasury.

He came from Ohio to Minnesota in 1852; worked on the St. Anthony Express a while; was elected chief clerk of the House in the Territorial Legislature of 1854; became editor of the St. Peter Courier; was secretary of the Council in the Legislature of 1855; and assisted two of the St. Paul dailies editorially, while

not engaged in his legislative duties. Morgan died at the Merchant's Hotel, St. Paul, August 27th, 1856, when only twenty-eight years old. Jack Morgan had his faults, but they harmed no one but himself. No one could ever say that he was delinquent in the discharge of duty.

SAUK RAPIDS FRONTIERMAN.

The Frontierman was the sixteenth newspaper started in Minnesota. It was a four-page, six-column, Democratic weekly, owned and edited by Jeremiah Russell. The date of its first issue was early in May, 1855. The exact day I have been unable to find. Russell was register, and William Henry Wood receiver, of the United States Land Office at Sauk Rapids, Benton county, where the Frontierman was published. Between them they managed to keep the paper going in a desultory way, it being sometimes suspended weeks at a time, and afterward resumed with surprising indifference to regular methods. Finally at Vol. 3, No. 34, November 24th, 1859, a series of half sheets were issued, to which Russell referred, and then stated that he had sold the Frontierman plant to William H. Wood. Wood terminated the paper, and on January 26th, 1860, began another at Sauk Rapids, called the New Era, using the material sold to him by Russell.

JEREMIAH RUSSELL.

Jeremiah Russell was born at Eaton, Madison county, N. Y., February 2nd, 1809. He set type when young in the office of the Fredonia Gazette, the first paper printed in Chautauqua county, New York. He came to Fort Snelling in 1837, and in 1848 was agent for Borup and Oakes of St. Paul, at their Indian trading post in Crow Wing, Morrison county. In 1854 he helped lay out the town of Sauk Rapids, Benton county; was register of the United States land office of that district; treasurer of Benton county several years; county auditor one year; and was a member of the first Territorial Legislature in 1849. He lived in Sauk Rapids until his death, which occurred June 8th, 1885. Integrity was the distinguishing trait of Mr. Russell's character.

HENRY P. PRATT.

Henry P. Pratt, part proprietor with Owens and Moore, and one of the editors, of the Minnesotian of St. Paul, died May 8th, 1855, as has been stated in my record of that paper. He was

born in Farmington, Maine, in May, 1812, and learned the printer's trade in the office of the Kennebec Journal at Augusta. He afterward became connected with the Somerset Journal at Norridgewock, and finally moved the establishment to Skowhegan and changed its name to the People's Press. He conducted this paper eight years and then sold out, and in the spring of 1854 came to St. Paul. In May of that year he became connected with the Minnesotian, and soon afterward bought an interest in the paper and became one of its editors. Integrity of character, thorough uprightness in all his relations with men, marked the course of Mr. Fratt through life.

RED WING SENTINEL, NO. I.

The Sentinel was the seventeenth newspaper established in Minnesota. At the beginning it was a four-page, six-column, Independent sheet. The first issue was dated about July 20th, 1855, and was printed at Red Wing, Goodhue county. Its editor was William Colvill, Jr. and its publishers Dan S. Merritt and James C. Hutchins. Colvill having been elected secretary of the Territorial Council of 1856, W. W. Phelps, then register of the United States Land Office at Red Wing, volunteered to help him out as temporary editor. It seems that neither could give the paper the time it needed, and on May 15th, 1856, the Pioneer and Democrat announced that the editor of the Sentinel and its proprietors had that week printed their valedictory. The press and material were then sold to Alexis Bailly, one of the proprietors of the town of Hastings, Dakota county, and were used to start the Dakota Weekly Journal. The History of Goodhue County says it was moved to that village, and Merritt and Hutchins opened the Kelly House in Red Wing and went into the hotel business.

The town of Red Wing having been thus left without a newspaper, Nehemiah V. and Cornelius Bennett brought in another printing outfit, and about July 1st, 1856, the first number of the Minnesota Gazette was issued. The history of this paper will be given when I come to the papers of 1856. That of Red Wing Sentinel No. 2, which followed the demise of the Gazette, will be given in the history of the papers of 1857.

WILLIAM COLVILL, JR.

William Colvill, Jr., was born at Forestville, Chautauqua county, N. Y., April 5th, 1830. He studied law; was admitted to

the bar in April, 1851; came to Red Wing, Minnesota, in April, 1854; became editor of the Red Wing Sentinel in July, 1855; and was elected secretary of the Minnesota Territorial Council in 1856. After the failure of Red Wing Sentinel, No. 1, in May, 1856, he practiced law until the Minnesota Gazette, the successor of the Sentinel, died in turn early in 1857. Then Dan S. Merritt, one of the former owners of Sentinel, No. 1, bought the Gazette outfit, sold half to Colvill, and they started the Red Wing Sentinel, No. 2, dating back the first number so as to bridge over from Sentinel, No. 1, the same as though all the issues of the Gazette had been Sentinels. In February, 1860, Colvill sold his interest to W. W. Phelps, because he saw trouble ahead in the Charleston Convention.

As soon as the war began, Colvill raised the Goodhue County Volunteers, was elected their captain, and on April 28th, 1861, was mustered in. He became colonel of the regiment; led it through the terrible crisis that turned the tide of battle at bloody Gettysburg; and, disabled by his wounds, was mustered out of service in May, 1864. He was a member of the Minnesota Legislature in 1865. After adjournment he was mustered into the United States service again; was made colonel of the First Minnesota Artillery; and was stationed at Chattanooga until July, 1865. He was brevetted brigadier general, and was mustered out finally the succeeding July.

He was attorney general of Minnesota from January 8th, 1866, to January 10th, 1868; and was elected to the Legislature of 1878 on the Democratic ticket from one of the strongest Republican counties in the state.

Crippled by wounds received in battle, the old veteran still lives, honored for patriotism, as few have ever been honored in Minnesota.

SOUTHERN MINNESOTA HERALD.

According to the History of Houston County, the Southern Minnesota Herald, of Brownsville in that county, was established June 23rd, 1855. Vol. 1, No. 45, June 14th, 1856, is the first issue that I can definitely trace. If printed continuously, No. 1 would have been August 11th, 1855. That it was so printed is shown by the fact that Vol. I, No. 52, now in the library, is dated August 2nd, 1856. I shall assume therefore that August 11th was the beginning of the Herald. William Frazier Ross was ed-

itor and publisher of the paper, which was the eighteenth in the Territory. It was the four-page, six-column sheet, common in those days, and professed to be independent in politics. At first it supported Henry M. Rice for delegate to Congress, but turned to David Olmsted during the canvass. The proprietors of the paper were J. H. McKenny, register of the United States Land Office; J. R. Bennett, receiver; Charles Brown, Job Brown, and E. A. Goodell, who were some of the owners of the town of Brownsville.

August 2nd, 1856, Mark Percival joined Ross, and the firm became Ross and Percival. September 20th, 1856, Charles Brown became editor of the paper, and it supported the Republican party for a time. November 8th, Ross retired and the firm name was made Brown and Percival. May 30th, 1857, Brown dissolved his connection with the Republican party, because in his opinion it could not supply the place of the old Whig party, to which he had formerly belonged. Finally, wearying of independence, he went over in September, 1857, to the party he had been fighting all his life, hoisted the Democratic flag, placed its ticket at the head of his editorial columns, and got into a quarrel with Percival, who retired, leaving Brown full swing.

March 5th, 1859, this paper seems to have been moved to a place called Fairy Rock, eleven miles east of Caledonia, Houston county; and there, in the latter part of June, 1859, it died. These were its last words: "The little craft has furled its colors, lashed fast its rudder, thrown out all her canvas and wind-catchers for a lonely cruise up dreary Salt River. We have fought hard for the Democracy, but the pork and beans failed, and we caved." To this the Mantorville Express of July 2nd, 1859, unfeelingly responded, "It is hard to make an empty bag stand upright."

CHARLES BROWN.

Charles Brown was born in Ontario county, New York, in 1826, and came to Wildcat bluff, now Brownsville, with his brother Job Brown, in 1848, when that country was new and wild. He helped lay out the town of Brownsville, and became editor and finally owner of the Herald, as I have stated. He was a man helpful to those who needed assistance, and public spirited in all that concerned the town in which he lived. He finally became insane, and died in the asylum at St. Peter, June 26th, 1873.

THE WINONA WEEKLY EXPRESS.

The Winona Express was the nineteenth paper issued in Minnesota. It was printed in Winona, and was an independent four-page, seven-column weekly. Henry D. Huff, a prominent resident and one of the original owners of Winona, was its proprietor; and William Creek, a bright young writer, was its editor. The first issue was dated August 14th, 1855. On September 13th, Creek, dissatisfied with the political trend that Huff, its owner, sought to give the paper, jumped the traces and published this curt valedictory, "I this day retire from all further connection with the Winona Weekly Express."

That was all, but it was enough. Wilson C. Huff, son of Henry D., was immediately made editor. The paper supported David Olmsted for delegate to Congress, in opposition to Henry M. Rice and William R. Marshall; and when Rice was elected, the columns of the Express were dressed in mourning, the first and last time known to Minnesota journalism when blighted political hopes were thus somberly buried. Early in November the press and printing materials of the Express were sold to Walter G. Dye and Co., and on November 20th, 1855, were used to start the Winona Republican.

Wilson C. Huff died shortly after the Express failed. Henry D. Huff died in Chicago a few years ago, and was buried in Winona. William Creek, the first editor of the Express, left Winona during the latter part of November, 1855; and nothing, so far as I know, has been heard of him since.

THE ST. PAUL FREE PRESS.

The St. Paul Free Press was the twentieth weekly, and the fifth daily, published in the Territory of Minnesota. It was a four-page, six-column sheet, devoted to fostering the political ambition of Stephen A. Douglas nationally and of Willis A. Gorman in Minnesota. It began August 30th, 1855. A. C. Smith, afterwards register of the United States Land Office at Minneapolis, was its editor; and S. J. Albright and Co. were its publishers. December 5th, after the defeat of Olmsted, it contracted the length and width of its columns, denoting the beginning of the end of its career. The Pioneer and Democrat of May 22nd, 1856, announced its permanent suspension.

A. C. SMITH.

I never think of A. C. Smith but there rises before me a tall, gaunt, awkward-looking, cavern-eyed man, behind a pair of very large gold spectacles. His description of himself was "six feet high when I straighten up, which I rarely do, round shouldered, gaunt, wiry, with a face looking like a bunch of old gun locks."

He was born in Orange county, Vermont, February 14th, 1814; studied law in that state, and was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court at Washington, D. C., Feb. 14th, 1838. In the spring of 1839 he removed to Mt. Clemens, Michigan, and published the Macomb County Gazette four years; and from June, 1851, until he came to Minnesota, he published a Masonic journal named "The Ancient Landmark." He was a member of the Michigan State Senate in 1845 and 1846, and was a district judge in Michigan three years, his term expiring in 1854. He revived the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order in Michigan, and was its Grand Secretary from 1841 to 1844, and again in 1847.

In 1855 Mr. Smith moved to St. Paul, and became the editor of the Free Press, which ran its active but brief career as I have stated. He was appointed register of the United States Land Office at Minneapolis February 4th, 1857, and went with it to Forest City, Meeker county, when it was moved there March 22d, 1858, and continued to act as register until succeeded by D. Mussey, October 2d, 1858. When Litchfield began to grow he opened a law office there and remained until his death, September 20th, 1880. He was a very pronounced Democrat of the old school, and of much more than ordinary ability. As a land officer, the only complaint I ever heard against him was that he was partial to the poor.

SHAKOPEE INDEPENDENT.

The first issue of the Shakopee Independent was dated Nov. 3rd, 1855, and it was the twenty-first newspaper started in Minnesota. It was four-page, six-column, and independent, at the outset, as usual. Allen Green was editor and publisher, and the place of publication was Shakopee, Scott county. January 9th, 1856, Martin Phillips and E. W. Thrift became editors and publishers. August 20th, 1856, the paper was dressed in mourning for the death of Martin Phillips. George H. Phillips, who died

in Washington, D. C., March 20th, 1886, succeeded him, and the paper went to the Democracy.

September 24th 1856, the name of the paper was changed to The Valley Herald. January 14th, 1857, Thomas B. Hunt became assistant editor, but in two months Phillips was alone again. The editorials of the paper must have been somewhat offensive to some of the Republicans of the day, for the Falls Evening News, published at St. Anthony, said the Herald was published by B. Ruffian and edited mostly by R. G. Whiskey.

August 26th, 1857, the paper became the Weekly Valley Herald. October 28th, 1857, is the date of the last number in the Historical Library. It seems that it was afterward temporarily suspended, for I find that the Belle Plaine Inquirer of September 23rd, 1858, announced its reappearance with Phillips and Marsh as editors and proprietors. It must have been submerged permanently soon afterward, for I find no place where it is mentioned since that date.

MARTIN PHILLIPS.

Martin Phillips died in Shakopee, August 19th, 1856, and the Shakopee Independent, of which he was the editor, thus alluded to it in its issue of the 20th: "Martin Phillips is dead. Calmly and quietly, without a feeling of pain and surrounded by those who were dear to him in life, he yielded up his soul to the God who made it."

Phillips was less than twenty-one years of age at the time of his death, being the youngest editor in Minnesota. Honorable and honest in his transactions with mankind, sociable and with a warm heart, and endowed with abilities far beyond his years, he lived respected by all, and died without an enemy.

THE WINONA REPUBLICAN.

A company of eighteen Republicans of Winona purchased the printing plant of the discontinued Winona Express, and on November 20th, 1855, issued the first number of the Winona Republican. It was the twenty-second newspaper printed in Minnesota. It was a four-page, seven-column sheet; Captain Sam Whiting, to whom I have referred in my record of the Winona Argus, was its editor, and Walter G. Dye its publisher. Whiting edited eighteen numbers and then retired. A. P. Foster joined Dye, temporarily, and the paper went on under King, Foster,

Dye and Co., publishers. June 19th, 1856, Daniel Sinclair purchased Foster's interest and became editor of the paper. In the fall Dye sold his half interest to four gentlemen of Winona, who in turn sold to W. C. Dodge, who is at present a patent attorney in Washington, D. C. February 3rd, 1857, Dodge resold to Dye, and the firm became D. Sinclair and Co.

May 19th, 1857, D. Sinclair and Co. disappeared from the head of its columns. April 2nd, 1864, Sheldon C. Cary purchased the interest belonging to Dye and continued with the paper until his death, by drowning, on the night of December 28th, 1864, by the breaking of the ice while he was on the river with a sleighing party.

November 19th, 1859, the Republicans started a small, three-column daily, called The Review, but December 19th, 1859, it was changed to the Winona Daily Republican and enlarged to five columns.

July 1st, 1865, Dye again became a joint partner with Sinclair, and on November 25th, 1866, John Dobbs purchased a third interest in the paper. On and off, Mr. Dye was publisher of the Republican about twenty-five years; and Mr. Sinclair was its editor until it consolidated with the Winona Herald, February 18th, 1901. It is still a highly successful newspaper, and enjoys the distinction of being the oldest Republican journal in Minnesota. A. P. Foster died about 1886; and Walter G. Dye, I believe, in 1892.

DANIEL SINCLAIR.

Daniel Sinclair was born in Thurso, Scotland, January 12th, 1833. He came to Winona in the spring of 1856, purchased a half interest in the Winona Republican, and, until it united with the Herald, was its editor-in-chief. He was made postmaster of Winona May 16th, 1869, in Grant's administration, and filled the office continuously until July 1st, 1885. The first of July, 1890, he was re-appointed. Mr. Sinclair is still living in Winona, and has acted a prominent part in shaping the interests of southern Minnesota.

MINNESOTA DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

F. A. Renz, a prominent German Republican of St. Paul, gives me the following facts about the beginnings of the Minne-

sota Deutsche Zeitung, the twenty-third newspaper in regular order in Minnesota:

Seven Democrats, then prominent in the party, advanced one hundred dollars each to help Friedrich Orthwein start the Zeitung. The St. Paul Minnesotian of November 20th, 1855, says it was started as an independent Democratic paper, and that the first number was printed on Monday, November 19th, 1855, with F. Orthwein, editor and publisher.

Mr. Renz tells me that soon after the Zeitung was started, Orthwein offered to sell out to the Republicans, if they would take him and his paper over to that party. Accordingly, Mr. Renz and Dominik Troyer advanced the money to repay the Democrats, and Orthwein went with his paper to the Republicans. In May the paper was enlarged, preparatory to entering the presidential campaign; and the Minnesotian of August 9th, 1856, advertised Orthwein of the Zeitung to address the German Republicans of St. Anthony.

Number 28 of Volume 2 is the earliest issue of the Zeitung in the Historical library, dated August 1st, 1857. This would make Vol. I, No. 1, for January 26th, 1856, which is probably the date of the Republican beginning of the Zeitung.

Orthwein failed to keep his agreement with the Republicans, and was dispossessed. This resulted in the temporary suspension of the Zeitung. It went into the hands of C. D. Gilfillan, chairman of the Republican Central Committee; but the St. Paul Minnesotian of January 20th, 1857, announced its reappearance, still under Republican control.

Orthwein went back to the Democrats, and the November 20th, 1856, issue of the Pioneer and Democrat, while announcing the suspension of the Zeitung, said, "In a few weeks the National Demokrat, a German Democratic newspaper, will be issued." It was understood that the Demokrat was to be run by Orthwein. It did not start, however, until the spring of 1857, as the first number of the National Demokrat in the Historical Library is No. 40 of Vol. 1, dated March 6th, 1858. This would make No. 1, Vol. 1, of the Demokrat date June 6th, 1857.

The first editor of the Zeitung, under the new management, was Charles Carree. November 21st, 1857, seems, however, to be the last the files tell of Carree's connection with the Zeitung. The

files then miss to February 20th, 1858, when Herrmann Du Brisson became the editor. May 22nd, 1858, the name of Du Brisson drops out; and no editor takes his place in the files, though I understand that Charles Passavant had charge about that time.

About May 1st, 1858, the Zeitung passed into the hands of Samuel Ludvigh, who had been the editor of a German quarterly published in Baltimore. His admirers welcomed him with a band and torchlight procession on his arrival in St. Paul. Orthwein, who had then returned from Chaska, and was filling out the unexpired subscription list of the Thalboten, an unsuccessful Carver County journalistic enterprise, with his St. Paul Demokrat, took occasion to make some slurring remarks about the torchlight proceedings. For this he was assaulted by Leopold Vonk, a friend of Ludvigh, who was brought into court and fined fifty dollars and costs before Judge Simons.

When Ludvigh took control of the Zeitung, the word Deutsche was dropped from the title and the word Staats took its place. In 1862 Ludvigh went out and the Staats Zeitung was taken in hand successively by Christian Exel, Carl Reuter, and Andrew R. Kiefer. Then Albert Wolff, who had been connected editorially more or less with the Zeitung from the time when it became a Republican paper, made an alliance with Theodore Sander, and they bought the paper; but Sander, later on, became the sole proprietor.

Under Sander the Zeitung was consolidated in 1877 with the Minnesota Volksblatt, another German weekly which had started under Philip Rohr on November 19th, 1861, and which was owned by Carl H. Lienau at the date of consolidation. The combined paper was then called the Volkszeitung, which is its name today. A stock company was formed at the time of consolidation, with C. H. Lienau as president, Albert Wolff, editor, and Theodore Sander, manager. It ran after this, with slight business changes, until December 31st, 1897, when F. W. Bergmeier acquired the paper and still runs it.

The Zeitung was the first German newspaper in the Territory; and it is now the oldest German paper in Minnesota. I have not found anyone who can tell what finally became of Frederick Orthwein, the man who started it.

ALBERT WOLFF.

Albert Wolff was the editor of the Deutsche Zeitung during the mid-period of its existence and was a writer for its columns during much of the remaining time up to his death a few years ago. He was born in Brunswick, Germany, September 26th, 1825; was well educated, but, in 1849, while yet a student, was sentenced to death for revolutionary acts. He was pardoned, however, in 1852, and shortly after came to the United States. In November, 1852, he arrived in St. Paul, remained about two years in the employ of F. A. Renz of this city, and then took up a Government claim in Carver county. He was elected to the Territorial Legislature in 1855 on the Olmsted Democratic ticket, but was denied admission on the ground of the illegal organization of Carver county. He then returned to St. Paul, and began editorial work, which he continued on different German papers in St. Paul and the Minnesota valley, until near the time of his death.

He was a graphic writer, and an eloquent speaker; but of quiet habits, preferring a literary to a business career. This preference unfitted him, in his opinion, for the active hustling life he found everywhere around him in Minnesota. Those who knew him best thought his life more than ordinarily successful, but he had higher ambitions, and, because they were not realized, he went to his death by suicide November 25th, 1893, under a Chicago Great Western locomotive in the Union Depot yard in St. Paul.

IMMIGRATION.

In 1854 the first great rush of people into the Northwest began. Thousands came overland in the canvas-covered "prairie schooners" common in those early days. Three new steamers were put on the river by the Galena line for the season of 1855. Every boat came loaded to the guards. There is authentic record that nearly thirty thousand people came up the river during that year alone. Some of the steamers divided three times their cost in actual profits.

No wonder that journalism caught the boom infection of those years. Nine new weekly newspapers and one daily were started in 1855, eighteen new weeklies in 1856, and nineteen prior to August 10th, 1857. On August 25th, 1857, came the explosion

that many old timers so painfully remember. Of those forty-six tender journalistic children that ascended in that explosion, the oldest of which had lived less than twenty-eight months, there came down, dead and mortally wounded, seven of the nine born in 1855; seventeen of the eighteen of 1856; and eighteen of the nineteen that had started during the first eight months of 1857. The mortality of corner lots was hardly greater than that of the newspapers of those twenty-eight months.

Third Paper, 1856.

The year 1856 came in, scattering with prodigal hand along its course eighteen additional weeklies through the vigorous young towns of Minnesota Territory.

The fever of pioneer enterprise increased. Alert traders, lawyers, doctors, mechanics, and other village and city builders, crowded every upbound steamboat on the Mississippi. Prairie schooners, crammed with farmers' families and their belongings, dotted the country landscape in all directions. Everywhere swarmed eager men intent on corner lots, land claims, and business and professional locations. The boom that finally brought disaster to the Northwest by over-doing things was rapidly building. What wrecks it left!

About every twenty years the boys of the preceding financial storm have grown to be men and are taking their turn in commanding the business crafts of the country. Some day they drift into the fogs of what men call new conditions, and in turn they go down on the same old rocks that wrecked their fathers and grandfathers.

It reminds me of the story of the retired merchant whose grandson came to him for a record of his experience to guide him in the business life he was about to enter. "No, John," said the old man, "you wouldn't foller it if I should give it to ye. The best thing fer you is to pitch right in and get yer own experience, and,—John, get it arley."

No matter how or when the time comes, communities, states, and nation, alike must have their financial disciplinary periods. They seem to be part of the needs of men. Individuals go down in these storms to irretrievable ruin, but as a whole there has been

an advance. The masses of men have come out of the wreckage each time on safer ground.

THE FILLMORE COUNTY PIONEER.

The St. Paul Daily Minnesotian of January 18th, 1856, says it has received the first number of a new paper called the Fillmore County Pioneer. Its place of publication was Carimona, a town laid out in March, 1855, by a company of townsite proprietors. It was neutral in politics; was owned by David Olmsted, William P. Murray, and Louis Robert, of St. Paul; and was edited and published by Ezra R. Trask. After running it awhile, Trask found that there was no money in the paper for him unless he owned the plant. He therefore proposed to the proprietors that they give him the plant on condition that he continue to print the Pioneer at Carimona and pay the bills. This was done. At that time, Carimona was the county seat of Fillmore county. Soon afterward, however, the county seat was moved to Preston. Trask then picked up his little hand press and its belongings, cast his agreement with Olmsted and Co. to the winds, and moved into Iowa, where he sold out, and that was the last heard of him.

The History of Fillmore county says that Trask sold the Pioneer outfit October 22nd, 1855, which is a mistake, as the paper was not started until January, 1856, as above stated. Probably the month and day are right, but the year should be 1856, instead of 1855. H. C. Butler is said to be the party who bought it. Who he was, or where he moved the press and material, I have no means of knowing. The Fillmore County Pioneer was the twenty-fourth newspaper started in the Territory, and the first of three papers that lived and died early in the little village of Carimona.

CHARLES J. HENNISS.

The next important chronological event of Minnesota journalism was the death of Charles J. Henniss. He died of consumption, February 14th, 1856, aged thirty-five. He was born in Philadelphia, and was connected with the United States Gazette, the Courier and Inquirer of New York, and the North American of Philadelphia, prior to coming to St. Paul in the summer of 1850. In November, 1850, he became editor and proprietor of the Chronicle and Register of St. Paul, the only Whig paper then published in the Territory. He was afterward

connected, in various editorial ways, with different St. Paul papers, his last assignment being as miscellaneous editor of the Pioneer and Democrat in 1855.

Mr. Henniss was a college graduate, a lawyer by profession, and a writer of more than ordinary ability. Like many bright fellows of those early days, he had some weaknesses of character; but they injured none but himself. He was chief among unselfish men, having been known to minister weeks at a time at the bedside of the sick and needy without reward, except the consciousness of the performance of a noble duty.

THE HENDERSON DEMOCRAT.

The Henderson Democrat was a four-page, seven-column, Democratic paper, which, according to the Pioneer and Democrat of April 17th, 1856, was started at Henderson, Sibley county, on April 3rd of that year. It was the twenty-fifth paper published in the Territory. Its editor and owner was the omnipresent, irrepressible Joseph R. Brown. He was a prominent Democratic leader in early days, the owner and editor during 1853 and 1854 of the St. Paul Pioneer, and the father of the town of Henderson, where in 1856 the Democrat was started as above stated. In 1857 he was elected to the Minnesota Legislature a third time; and shortly afterward he became a member of the convention to form a constitution for the new state of Minnesota.

On the sixth of August, 1857, Brown installed Charles C. Guppy as editor and publisher of the Democrat. Guppy was succeeded shortly after by James W. Lynde. The latter tired of his position and of the Democracy together, and on May 25th, 1859, he resigned from the Democrat and abandoned the party. June 1st, 1859, the name of H. H. Young appeared at the head of its columns. April 6th, 1861, is the date of the last number in the files of the Library of the Historical Society. It went under soon afterward.

Lynde was shot by an Indian at the beginning of the savage outbreak of 1862. Guppy I have been unable to trace.

H. H. YOUNG.

Harry H. Young was born in Virginia in 1825 of Quaker parentage. He came to Minnesota in 1859, and lived first at

Henderson. During the civil war he went back east and was correspondent of a Baltimore paper. He returned at the end of the war, and was employed on Red Wing and Rochester papers, and later became Immigration Secretary of Minnesota. While in that office he edited and distributed seventy-five thousand copies of "Illustrated Minnesota." He died in St. Luke's Hospital in St. Paul, of congestion of the brain, February 8th, 1896.

A TERRITORIAL ROLL OF HONOR.

I like to enliven the rather dry routine of my stir among the journalistic dry bones of the territorial period by relating incidents of those early days. Not all are of the humorous kind, however. One carries me back to the beginnings of the Minnesota Historical Society. In my search through the files of early territorial newspapers I came to the January 16th, 1856, issue of the Pioneer and Democrat. There I found the names of sixty-two men who contributed twenty-five dollars each for a life membership in the Society to enable Colonel D. A. Robertson to purchase two lots for building purposes. Fifteen hundred dollars were paid for the lots, the basement walls and corner stone were laid, and then 1857 rolled over the foundations and the building stopped. The lots are on the northwest corner of Wabasha and Tenth streets. They will prove a valuable nucleus towards providing permanent quarters when the Society has outgrown the rooms given it in the new capitol building. This will come sooner than most of us now believe possible.

Naming the sixty-two donors of life memberships to buy those two lots seems now like calling the roll of the dead. Here they are:

N. J. T. Dana,
B. F. Hoyt,
Parker Payne,
George L. Becker,
J. Esaias Warren,
Lyman Dayton,
Lyman C. Dayton,
Simon W. Arnold,
Alexander Ramsey,
Charles N. Mackubin,
Erastus S. Edgerton,
William R. Marshall,
Truman M. Smith,
R. R. Nelson,
C. J. Pettys,
C. P. Daly,
L. M. Olivier,
Charles L. Willis,
Alexis Bailly,
A. H. Cathcart,
D. A. J. Baker,
John Randall,
M. W. Irwin,
C. T. Whitney,
J. E. Whitney,
Justus C. Ramsey,
Charles D. Elfelt.
J. C. Martin,
O. R. Cole,
William Henry Forbes,
Norman W. Kittson,
J. W. Bass,
John R. Irvine,
William L. Banning,
William Hollinshead,

William Constans,	M. E. Ames,	Edmund Rice,
W. L. Ames,	George Fuller,	John B. Brisbin,
A. F. Hows,	Isaac Van Etten,	Abram Elfelt,
J. L. Farwell,	Franklin Steele,	Henry H. Sibley,
J. P. Pond,	J. W. Selby,	J. C. Burbank,
James M. Winslow,	F. Frederick,	Alpheus Fuller,
Daniel Rohrer,	A. L. Larpenteur,	D. A. Robertson,
William G. Le Duc,	Alfred Gurin,	Peter Berkey,
Joseph S. Sewall,	David Gurin,	John Nicols.

I knew nearly all these men, and of the sixty-two I am not certain that more than nine still survive. They are D. A. J. Baker, Peter Berkey, William Constans, N. J. T. Dana, A. L. Larpenteur, William G. Le Duc, R. R. Nelson, Joseph S. Sewall. and Truman M. Smith.

DAKOTA WEEKLY JOURNAL.

The Dakota Weekly Journal was the twenty-sixth newspaper started in Minnesota. Only one copy of this paper is in the library of the Historical Society. I find it bound with the files of the Hastings Independent. It was a four-page, six column, Democratic paper. The copy preserved is No. 5 of Volume 1, dated June 21st, 1856, making the date of first issue May 24th, 1856. The press and material were the same as had been used to print the Red Wing Sentinel No. 1, referred to in my record of the papers of 1855. The purchase was made by Alexis Bailly, an old time fur trader of Mendota, and member of the first Territorial Legislature of Minnesota. The place of publication was Hastings, Dakota county. Henry G. Bailly, son of Alexis, ran the paper and James C. Dow was its editor. Henry G. Bailly was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Minnesota and a senator in the first legislature after Minnesota became a state.

The county seat of Dakota county was at first located at Kaposia, a small Indian trading post a short distance below St. Paul. The village of Mendota being somewhat prominent in the early fifties as the headquarters of Hon. H. H. Sibley, who became the first governor of Minnesota after its admission as a state, the county seat was removed to that place in 1854. At an election held March 27th, 1857, it was ordered that the county seat be removed to Hastings, and the records were transferred June 2nd, 1857, where they have since remained.

The History of Dakota County says that on April 24th, 1857, when it became known that the county seat had veen voted to be moved to Hastings, Dow printed his valedictory and retired from the Journal. Martin Williams succeeded him, but the Pioneer Press of November 19th, 1857, announced the permanent suspension of the paper.

JAMES C. DOW.

Jim Dow, as he was familiarly called, was a man who would have ranked next to Goodhue as an editorial writer, had he kept steady and attended to business. Neglected, however, as the Dakota Journal was during most of its existence, it yet stood well among the newspapers of the territory while it lived. I have no record of where Dow was born, or of his doings before he became editor of the Journal. He was a member of the House in the first legislature after Minnesota became a state, and succeeded Hon. W. W. Phelps as register of the United States Land Office at Henderson, April 17th, 1858, Phelps having been elected to Congress. Since that time, I have found no trace of him.

MARTIN WILLIAMS.

Martin Williams was born in Ohio in 1823. He learned the printers' trade there, and came to St. Paul and was connected with its early papers until he became editor of the Dakota Journal in 1857. After that he moved to St. Peter, and established the St. Peter's Tribune in 1859. He afterward sold the Tribune and became a quartermaster in the army. After the war he worked on the Pioneer and Democrat of St. Paul, and in 1869 moved to Minneapolis and worked there as a reporter until his death, December 10th, 1891. Mart Williams had many friends.

THE MINNESOTA GAZETTE.

The Minnesota Gazette was the twenty-seventh newspaper printed in Minnesota. No files are in existence that I can find. The origin of this paper was as follows. The press and material of the Red Wing Sentinel having been sold to Alexis Bailly on the 15th of May, 1856, and moved from Red Wing to Hastings to start the Dakota Weekly Journal, Red Wing was left without a newspaper. Nehemiah V. and Cornelius Bennett then stepped in with a new plant and started the Minnesota Ga-

zette. As the Pioneer and Democrat of St. Paul on July 3rd, 1856, and the Northwestern Democrat of Minneapolis on July 5th, announced the receipt of the first number of the Gazette, it is safe to assume that it was started about July 1st. N. V. Bennett was the editor and Cornelius Bennett the publisher.

June 6th, 1857, the St. Paul Advertiser said, "Red Wing Gazette has changed owners, Mr. Bennett having sold to Dan S. Merritt. Mr. Bennett leaves the office on account of his health." Merritt published the paper under the name of the Gazette, according to the St. Paul Advertiser as late as July 25th, 1857, and then changed the name back to the Red Wing Sentinel, picking up the old volume and number of the Sentinel by the way and going on as though the Gazette had never existed. The record of the Red Wing Sentinel No. 1 was given in my history of papers of 1855. The record of Red Wing Sentinel No. 2 will come under the head of papers of 1857.

A PIONEER POLL LIST.

One day in May, 1856, R. P. Russell, receiver of the United States Land Office for the Minneapolis District, brought into the office of the St. Anthony Express, a paper that he thought might interest its readers. It read as follows:

At an election held at the house of R. P. Russell in the precinct of St. Anthony Falls, township 29, in the County of St. Croix, and Territory of Wisconsin, on the 30th day of October, 1848, the following persons received the number of votes annexed to their respective names for the following described offices, to wit: Henry H. Sibley had twelve for Delegate to Congress; Henry M. Rice had thirty for Delegate to Congress.

Certified by us { Calvin A. Tuttle, Roswell P. Russell, Sherburn House, *Judges of Election.*

Attest { Caleb D. Dorr, Sumner W. Farnham, *Clerks of Election.*

The names of the voters were as follows:

Alpheus R. French,	Henry H. Angell,	Eli F. Lewis,
Andrew L. Cummings,	Benjamin Bidgood,	Isaac Marks,
Benjamin Bowles,	Charles L. Mitchell,	Joseph Brown,
Andrew Schwartz,	Robert Cummings,	Anthony Page,
John Dall,	Ira A. Burrows,	Stephen S. Angell,
Alfred B. Robinson,	William A. Cheever,	John J. Carlton,

Edward Patch,	John McDermott,	Louis Cross,
Horace Booth,	Edgar Folsom,	Daniel Stanchfield,
John Banfield,	David Gilman,	Sterling Gresshorn,
David Chapman,	Joel B. Daman,	Roswell P. Russell,
Dixon Farmer,	Sanford Huse,	Sherburn Huse,
John Rex,	Aaron P. Howard,	Caleb D. Dorr,
Dennis Sherica,	Iran Sincere,	Sumner W. Farnham,
William J. Whaland,	James M. Howard,	Calvin A. Tuttle.

Of this list of forty-two voters, comprising all that then lived in what is now Minneapolis, Mr. Dorr and I recognize the names of only three who are now living. They are Caleb D. Dorr, Daniel Stanchfield and Edward Patch.

WABASHA JOURNAL, NO. 1.

The Wabasha Journal, No. 1, started at Read's Landing, Wabasha county, and the earliest mention of it that I find is in the Minnesotian of July 18th, and the St. Anthony Express of July 19th, 1856. It must have been started about the 15th of July, 1856. The History of Wabasha County says the first issue was July 4th, 1856. It was a six-column, Democratic sheet. H. J. Sanderson was its proprietor and editor, and it was the twenty-eighth newspaper started in Minnesota.

The History of Wabasha County says the Journal was moved from Read's Landing to Wabasha in the spring of 1857, and was made the official paper of that village April 27th, 1858. At some time during the summer of 1858, S. S. Burleson of North Pepin, Wisconsin, bought an interest in the paper; and later he became its owner, and changed its name to the Minnesota Patriot. After a few months Burleson sold to H. C. Simpson, who changed the name back to the Journal. In 1860, G. W. Marsh came in with him, and the Journal became Republican and supported Lincoln for President.

The Journal No. 1 went with the leaves in the autumn of 1858. Burleson afterward became an Episcopal minister. Sanderson went south and joined the Confederate army, and Grant got him when he captured Vicksburg in 1863.

THE PRESTON JOURNAL.

I find in the St. Paul Minnesotian of July 21st, 1856, that the Preston Journal of Preston, Fillmore county, had just made its appearance, and was neutral in politics. I also find that the History of Fillmore County says a paper called the Preston

Journal was issued in 1856 by Getzel and Co., and after printing one issue was stopped. I find no further reference to it. If it is worth a name, however, it is worth a number in the series of Minnesota newspapers. The Journal must have appeared about the 15th of July, 1856. I have placed it in the list as the twenty-ninth newspaper started in Minnesota Territory; and there, until some one furnishes more facts about it, I shall have to leave it.

OWATONNA WATCHMAN AND REGISTER.

The Owatonna Watchman and Register leaves no files that I have been able to find. The earliest notices of it appear in the Minnesotian, the Pioneer and Democrat, and the St. Paul Advertiser. The Minnesotian of July 29th, 1856, says it was edited by A. B. Cornell and S. T. Smeed. The History of Steele County says H. M. Steele was the editor. The Pioneer and Democrat of July 31st says, "the Owatonna Watchman and Register, edited and published by John H. Abbott and A. B. Cornell, a four-page, seven-column, Republican paper, has been received." It is quoted by the Advertiser in its issues of April 4th and of August 22nd, 1857.

The statement was made in the Minnesotian of December 6th, 1856, that H. M. Sheetz, formerly of the Freeport Journal of Freeport, Illinois, was editor of the Watchman and Register. I find no further mention of the paper, except that during 1857 the name was changed to the Owatonna Register, and the name of Mr. Pettit added to the management. Mr. Sheetz was twice elected to the Minnesota Legislature, and died in Owatonna on October 16th, 1859.

On the above facts I base the conclusion that this newspaper must have been started about the 20th of July, 1856, and that it went down in the latter part of 1857 or early in 1858. Its place of publication was Owatonna, Steele county, and it was the thirtieth newspaper started in Minnesota.

CANNON FALLS GAZETTE.

No issues of the Cannon Falls Gazette are in existence, so far as I can find. The Pioneer and Democrat of August 7th, 1856, notes the first issue. It must therefore have been started about the first of August of that year. It was the thirty-first newspaper started in the Territory, and was a four-page, six-column journal, independent in politics. R. Wilson Hamilton

was its editor and proprietor; and its place of publication was Cannon Falls, Goodhue county. It soon passed into the hands of a man named Hatch, who printed it to about the middle of May, 1857, when it stopped. The St. Paul Advertiser of May 31st, 1857, said it had passed into the hands of R. A. Hoag and brother, who bought the plant and started the Bulletin, a somewhat larger paper, in August following. This they printed until after the close of 1857, when they moved the press and material to Northfield, Rice county, and started the Northfield Journal.

Hancock's History of Goodhue County says that Hoag and Brother changed the name of the Bulletin to the Echo, and when the Echo died away they took the plant to Northfield. Another History of Goodhue County insists that the outfit went to Northfield immediately after the failure of the Bulletin, and that a man named Bromwick started the Echo at Cannon Falls. It matters little, however, for they are all dead; and not a single copy of any of them, so far as I know, is in existence.

STILLWATER MESSENGER, NO. I.

In the valedictory of A. J. Van Vorhes, written when he sold the Stillwater Messenger plant to Willard S. Whitmore, I find it stated that the first issue of the Messenger appeared September 15th, 1856. The last issue of Messenger No. 1 was volume 12, No. 27, dated March 11th, 1868. It was a four-page, seven-column, Republican sheet, and the thirty-second in general course in the Territory. A. J. Van Vorhes was owner and editor. W. M. Easton joined him soon afterward, the firm becoming Van Vorhes and Easton, the former still remaining editor. This business relation continued until September 6th, 1862, when the partnership was dissolved and Van Vorhes again became sole owner and editor.

Later, because of continued absence as quartermaster in the army, Van Vorhes procured the services of A. B. Stickney, now president of the Chicago Great Western Railway, as editor, and his salutatory appears in the issue of May 19th, 1863. A. B. Easton was placed in charge of the mechanical department.

October 1st, 1863, Van Vorhes made a lease of the plant to Stickney and Easton for one year. October 1st, 1864, Stickney retired, and Van Vorhes renewed the lease to Easton for an-

other year. October 3rd, 1865, Van Vorhes resumed control of the Messenger as editor and publisher.

March 11th, 1868, at Volume 12, No. 26, Van Vorhes sold the plant to Willard S. Whitmore, who said he carried the first copy of the Messenger ever printed and that he had been continuously connected with the paper for the preceding four years. This purchase closed the career of the first Messenger. One week thereafter the Stillwater Republican appeared in its place at Volume 1, No. 1. Whitmore gave as a reason that the party was on the eve of an important and exciting campaign, and that a name indicative of Republican principles was desirable.

Whitmore ran the Republican until October 4th, 1870, when he sold it to George K. Shaw of Minneapolis, who continued the Republican to Volume 3, No. 40, December 16th, 1870, when he changed the name back to the Stillwater Messenger, and sent it ahead on a jump to Volume 16, No. 15, as though the Stillwater Republican had never been. It has since been issued as the Stillwater Messenger, and is still going.

I do not like to break the publication record of the Messenger; but I must print facts, or my history will be unreliable. The files conclusively show that the Stillwater Messenger, No. 1, died, and that the Republican was started in its stead. That in turn died, and Stillwater Messenger, No. 2, followed it, the same as the Red Wing Sentinel, No.1, was followed by the Minnesota Gazette, and as that in turn was followed by Sentinel No. 2. Any other procedure would blot out the Republican and Gazette, which had as much right to be named as any of the seventeen newspapers which have gone into that omnivorous absorber, the Pioneer Press.

ANDREW J. VAN VORHES.

Andrew J. Van Vorhes was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, June 30th, 1824. He began to set type on his father's paper, the Hocking Valley Gazette in Ohio, at the age of thirteen. He worked there until 1844, when he and his brother Nelson bought the paper and changed its name to the Athens Messenger. In 1847 he was elected recorder of the county. He was also recording clerk in the Ohio Legislature one term. In 1855 he came to Stillwater, Minn., and in 1856 established the Stillwater Messenger and conducted it until 1868, when failing health compelled him to sell and retire from busi-

ness after twenty-seven years of active journalism. He was a member of the Minnesota Legislature in 1860, and was selected by the government as agent to aid in the Indian payment at Fort Ripley in 1862, when for nine days the fort was invested by the savages. He was also a quartermaster in the army from 1863 to 1865, and served as clerk of the Supreme Court of Minnesota one term. He died in Stillwater January 10th, 1873.

He was an honest, active, painstaking journalist, and the pages of his paper were always clean. As a public officer he was faithful to his trust, and both socially and politically he made many very warm friends.

REPUBLICAN ADVOCATE.

The Republican Advocate was started at Shakopee, Scott county, September 27th, 1856, and was the thirty-third of Territorial papers. A. B. and H. Y. Russell were the publishers. It suspended temporarily in the fall of 1857, and went under permanently early in 1860. It left no files that I can find, and I have not been able to find anything further elsewhere of the Advocate.

CHATFIELD DEMOCRAT, NO. I.

I find in the files of the Pioneer and Democrat of May 15th, 1856, that the prospectus of the Chatfield Democrat had been received; and its issue of October 9th, 1856, says it has "received the first number of the paper." The Pioneer and Democrat also commends it for its support of Buchanan and Breckenridge for president and vice-president of the United States. The St. Paul Advertiser of December 27th, 1856, quotes the proceedings of a railroad meeting which was ordered published in the Carimona Telegraph, the Chatfield Democrat, and the Chatfield Republican.

Hon. H. R. Wells of Preston, Fillmore county, is sure that a paper called the Chatfield Democrat was published in Chatfield in 1856, and that it was owned by John H. McKenny and others connected with the United States Land Office, then located in Chatfield. Mrs. Wells, who is a daughter of Mr. McKenny, remembers the paper, but who ran it she cannot tell. General Bishop also mentions the Chatfield Democrat of 1856, in a small pamphlet which he wrote and had printed about that time. The date of the first issue of the Democrat must have been about

October 1st, 1856, and it was probably discontinued early in 1857. It comes, therefore, into line as the thirty-fourth newspaper started in the Territory.

THE RICE COUNTY HERALD.

The Rice County Herald was the thirty-fifth newspaper in Minnesota. Its place of publication was Faribault, Rice county. F. W. Frink was its owner and editor. He began it October 22nd, 1856, printed six issues, and then sold the plant to J. L. Pond, who made R. A. Mott editor. Pond printed one more number, the December 3rd issue, when Mott bought the outfit and its publication ceased.

THE CHATFIELD REPUBLICAN.

The first issue of the Chatfield Republican appears to have been printed October 25th, 1856. It was a four-page, seven-column, Republican paper, printed in Chatfield, Fillmore county, and was the thirty-sixth in the Territory. The publishers were J. W. Twilford and Co., and the editor H. W. Holley. June 13th, 1857, Orville Brown became one of the editors. The paper was noted for its bitter opposition to the Five Million Dollar Railroad Loan bill, and its columns contained samples of vituperation equal to those of the St. Paul Pioneer under Goodhue.

The parting kick at an editor of another paper who was about to retire is a gem of its kind. Here is the part that landed the hardest. I find it in the December 6th, 1859, issue of the Republican.

> Here now he stands, a man who professed to be an editor of a paper, but who was in reality a thing, edited himself by a clique. A man who for a long series of months was a mouthpiece for the utterances of Billingsgate, whose authors were ashamed to acknowledge its paternity; a man who was set on like a barking pup to do the dirty work of a few press owners; a man who wore a collar of the mind slave, weakly, submissively, obediently cringing and fawning at the feet of those who fed him, until, worn out in their service, they gave him what such labors sooner or later always bring, ungrateful return for such services rendered, by telling him to go forth, the world was all before him where to choose and Providence his guide.

The Historical Library files of this paper are not complete. The last that I find is Volume 5, No. 49, October 15th, 1861. The press and material was sold shortly after that date, how-

ever, and were moved to Preston and used to start the Preston Republican. According to my records, the Fillmore County Pioneer of Carimona, first noticed in this paper, was the first newspaper published in Fillmore county, and the Chatfield Republican was the third.

HON. HENRY W. HOLLEY.

Henry W. Holley was born in Pierrepont Manor, Jefferson county, N. Y., May 5th, 1828. He was graduated from Norwich University, Vermont, a college for engineers, in 1849, and worked as a civil engineer on railroads seven years in Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin. In 1856 he came to Minnesota, and joined Twilford and Company in establishing the Chatfield Republican. In 1857 he was a member of the Minnesota Constitutional Convention. In 1861 he was appointed receiver of the Winnebago Land Office, and served in that capacity eight years. He was serving a term in the Minnesota Senate when he received this apointment. During part of the time he was receiver he acted as chief engineer of the Southern Minnesota railroad, of which he was one of the original incorporators. He was connected with that road until 1874, the last four years acting as its superintendent and general manager. As Holley was absent a large share of his time, Orville Brown was the chief writer for the columns of the papers with which he and Brown were connected. Holley, however, was a writer of much more than ordinary ability, and a well equipped man in every sense. He moved farther west some years since, and died near Everett, Washington, four or five years ago.

ORVILLE BROWN.

Orville Brown used to be called "Awful Brown" by some of the newspapers of his time. He was probably the author of the editorial of which I have quoted a portion in my notice of the Chatfield Republican. He was born in Ellisburg, Jefferson county, N. Y,. November 10th, 1810. He worked at railroading in portions of the west from 1851 to 1856 when he came to Minnesota, locating at Chatfield in 1857, where he became, as I have stated, one of the editors of the Chatfield Republican.

In 1859 the Republican was sued for libel by C. C. Hemphill, the editor and proprietor of the Chatfield Democrat, for one of the bitter articles of the former paper, a sample of which I

have given. A verdict of one hundred dollars was rendered in favor of Hemphill, which was set aside by the judge of the district court, and that, I believe, was the end of the suit.

After selling the plant of the Republican, Holley and Brown bought the press and material of the Faribault Herald, which was established by R. A. Mott, December 10th, 1856, after he had bought and extinguished the Rice County Herald. Holley and Brown put out the light of the Faribault Herald, in turn, and began the Central Republican on June 23d, 1858, Orville Brown being editor, which still runs as the Faribault Republican. Holley and Brown ran the Central Republican, Brown still remaining editor, until November 20th, 1861, when Holley retired. Brown continued alone until December 20th, 1865, when he sold to A. W. McKinstry.

In January, 1869, Mr. Brown purchased the Mankato Record of John C. Wise. Griswold, of the Mankato Union, once said that the Record was Democratic by profession, but not any too much so by practice. Brown turned it into a Republican paper and published it until he retired from the newspaper business, October 25th, 1879. Mr. Brown was appointed postmaster at Mankato in 1873, and held the office until 1884. He was a man of exemplary character, but strong in his likes and dislikes, and in his newspaper days kept things in a stir wherever he went. He died in St. Paul, January 5th, 1901, in the ninety-first year of his age.

THE NORTHERN HERALD.

The Northern Herald, published first at Watab, Benton county, and afterward at Little Falls, Morrison county, was the thirty-seventh newspaper started in Minnesota. No copies seem to be in existence. I find the first notices of it in the Minnesotian of November 18th, 1856, and the Pioneer and Democrat of November 20th, 1856. The latter paper says that the material for the Herald was purchased from the Pioneer and Democrat. The Herald must have started about Nevember 15th, 1856. It was owned by Parker H. French. It is mentioned in the issues of the Minnesotian of November 18th and 22nd, as located at Watab; and the statement is made that "new papers are multiplying so fast that it is difficult to keep track of them."

It was published by E. C. Church. French moved the paper to Little Falls shortly after its start at Watab, ran it a few months

and then sold it to the Little Falls Manufacturing Company. Church succeeded French as editor, and it went on about two years thereafter, when it was wrecked in the financial storm following 1857.

PARKER H. FRENCH.

All I have been able to learn of Parker H. French is that he was said to have been Walker's secretary of state, when the latter attempted to filibuster Nicaragua. On his arrival in Minnesota with his family, he was introduced by the Pioneer and Democrat of August 21st, 1856, as the United States minister to Nicaragua. Later on September 6th, the Minnesotian says that French and his associates had gone on an exploring trip into northern Minnesota, west of Leech and Sandy lakes, and that he intended to bring a number of families from the south to settle there in the spring of 1857.

After selling the Herald, French went to California, and the St. Paul Advertiser of June 20th, 1857, said he had been advertised to begin a daily in Sacramento about May 1st of that year. The St. Paul Minnesotian of January 1st, 1859, made the announcement that French had become the publisher of the Evening Sentinel, a new paper in New York, and that Hon. Mike Walsh, member of Congress from that city, was helping him run it. This is the last trace I find of him.

AN INDEPENDENT EDITOR.

In examining the files of the early newspapers of Minnesota for facts to picture Territorial journalism, I came upon an editorial showing that as late as 1856 something of the old meat-axe style of journalism still survived outside the Chatfield Republican. I did not note the name of the paper or editor. That, however, does not matter.

It seems that a country paper had been established upon the usual understanding that the owner was to have a certain amount of patronage from the people of the new town to keep him from starving. They didn't do as they agreed. So he cut his paper down to a four-column, nine by twelve sheet, and went at the delinquents in a new prospectus as follows:

INDEPENDENT OF ALL SAVE THE MERCIES OF GOD.

This paper will no sooner advocate what its editor believes to be a humbug than a hard-shell Baptist will baptize an infant by immersion

or an adult by sprinkling. He will publish in it just what he mill-dam please, without fear or favor, and almost without hope of the reward to which he is legally and morally entitled for services rendered a community marked by piety, parsimony, temperance, and elastic consciences, and who are, and have been, financially and irreligiously kicking a public servant who has done his whole duty. He has honestly upheld the justice of removing the county seat and shown the benefits arising therefrom. He will talk turkey when in the turkey mood, and gabble gossip when he listeth. He will battle for his rights against the world, the flesh, and the devil. He will try to live on property he earned before his advent into this blue-bellied land of sectarian cut-throats and pimps of pious hypocrisy, will claim the right to sue and be sued, will wear a common seal, and, like the register of deeds of Jackson county, raise hell generally, and will probably be remembered as the man all tattered and torn. Terms, one dollar and a half, invariably in advance.

THE FARIBAULT HERALD.

Were it not for the fact that the Faribault Herald begins at Vol. 1, No. 1, I would call it the continuation of the Rice County Herald, which had a life of only seven weeks, when its press and material were purchased by R. A. Mott and used to start the Faribault Herald. Mott saw fit to snuff out the Rice County Herald entirely and begin a new newspaper, so I must chronicle it as such, and name it the thirty-eighth paper in regular Territorial course. Though it increases the list of these early newspapers somewhat, I see no other way to preserve identity and avoid confusion.

Volume 1, No. 1, is dated December 10th, 1856, its place of publication Faribault, Rice county, with R. A. Mott as editor and proprietor. He ran it until June 2nd, 1858, when he sold the plant to Holley and Brown, who unceremoniously stopped the Faribault Herald, in turn, and started a new volume and number on June 23d, 1858, called the Central Republican, which today is still running usefully and vigorously under the name of the Faribault Republican as has already been stated.

R. A. MOTT.

R. A. Mott was born in Warren, New York, December 6th, 1825. He studied law with James H. Collins in Chicago in 1848, went overland to California in 1850, returned in 1852, and in the spring of 1856 came to Faribault. He joined J. L. Pond as editor of the Rice County Herald in October of that year, and having purchased the plant began the issue of the

Faribault Herald on December 10th, as has been stated. After selling the paper to Holley and Brown in 1858, he was admitted to the bar, and has since followed it as his profession.

Mr. Mott has been county attorney of Faribault two terms; county superintendent of schools several years; and in 1880 he was elected to the state legislature. He has always taken a great interest in the state institutions of Faribault, and has aided them greatly in various ways.

THE MONTICELLO JOURNAL.

The press and material of the Monticello Journal, the thirty-ninth newspaper printed in Minnesota, were brought to Monticello, Wright county, in the latter part of November, 1856, by H. C. Bunce; and the first issue was set up and printed mainly by D. L. Kingsbury, now assistant librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society. He does not remember the date of that issue, but it was some time about the middle of December, 1856. The health of Mr. Bunce failed, and he sold the press and material to a syndicate which started the Monticello Times, May 21st, 1857.

THE ORONOCO COURIER.

The Oronoco Courier is another weekly newspaper of which no copies seem to be in existence. It was the fortieth newspaper, and the first trace of it appears in the St. Paul Minnesotian, which says in its issue of December 20th, 1856, "The first number of the Oronoco Courier, of Oronoco, Olmsted county, is received." It seems to have been edited by D. H. Galloway and E. Allen Power, and belonged to a stock company, and the press and materials were purchased in Dubuque, Iowa. It was neutral in politics and was started evidently to boom the town of Oronoco, which was platted less than two years after the first white settler came into that part of the country.

The St. Paul Advertiser termed it one of the ablest conducted newspapers in Minnesota. Dr. Galloway left the paper shortly after it started and went to Rochester, and afterward settled in Fargo, North Dakota. That is the latest trace of him that I have. Power wrote his valedictory and left the paper July 3rd, 1857, and later was elected to the legislature when Minnesota became a state. The Courier then passed into the hands of Alfred E. Sawyer. It ran on until late in December, 1857,

when the Advertiser of the 26th of that month quotes its terse valedictory to its subscribers, as follows: "This number is the last you will receive of the Oronoco Courier. It has fulfilled its mission. It *was* an institution of Oronoco, and now it *is not*."

THE CARIMONA TELEGRAPH.

The Carimona Telegraph followed the demise of the Fillmore County Pioneer. It was printed in Carimona, in that county; and, as nearly as I can time it, was the forty-first paper started in the Territory, and the eighteenth in 1856. There are no copies in existence, so far as I can learn. In fact, the only record of it that I can find is in the St. Paul Advertiser of 1856 and 1857. Under date of December 27th, 1856, that paper published the proceedings of a railroad meeting in Carimona which was ordered published in the Carimona Telegraph, Chatfield Democrat, and Chatfield Republican. The Advertiser quoted the Telegraph again under date of January 31st, 1857, and that is all I can definitely learn about it. As the Fillmore County Pioneer, described in the early part of this paper, lived nearly a year, the Telegraph probably very closely followed it, and then in turn went under just before the Western Transcript was started in Carimona in May, 1857. The village was too small to support two papers at a time; and, of the three it had, the hardiest lived less than a year. It would seem, therefore, either that the town site company wore out printers pretty fast, or that Carimona was an unhealthy place for newspapers in those early days.

SUMMARY, 1856.

Of the eighteen new papers started in 1856, seventeen went down early. Fourteen of them were so completely swept away that no copies remain that I can find. For the remaining four, I find broken files of the Henderson Democrat, Stillwater Messenger, and Chatfield Republican. Of the Dakota Weekly Journal a single copy is all that seems to have been preserved. Only two of the eighteen run today under the original names. They are the Stillwater Messenger and the Chatfield Democrat. The Messenger died, and the Stillwater Republican arose on its grave. The Messenger, however, was afterward resurrected, as I have described in my record of that paper, and is still living.

The Chatfield Democrat was resurrected by Hemphill, and started under new volume and number, September 11th, 1857.

The only way I have been able to follow these vanished newspapers has been by a laborious hunt through county histories and files of contemporaneous journals, and by correspondence with old settlers. Many will have doubts as to whether the search will pay. As for me, I know that these old journals had much to do in building the foundations of Minnesota, and as one of her Territorial pioneers I am proud to contribute this series of papers to the Historical Society as my tribute to their memory.

Fourth Paper, January 1st to August 25th, 1857.

The small remnant of Minnesota business men now living who were here between 1854 and 1861, still vividly recall how it feels to go through the rise and fall of a boom period. Everything seemed to be in the air and moving briskly in those days. Not even corner lots could be held down. I remember a townsite promoter of 1857 who embellished one of his plats with churches, schoolhouses, county and business buildings, and fine residences, when there was only a claim shanty on the whole outfit, and while yet the country was nearly bare of farm improvements for miles around. He took his townsite plat to Washington while Congress was in session, having only money enough to pay the railroad fare and about two weeks' living in a cheap boarding house. Before the close of the first week, he moved into a suite of finely furnished rooms in the best hotel in the city, and it was said that he returned to Minnesota in the spring with about ten thousand dollars realized from lots in that townsite. To make those sales, he had talked fiction during the winter; but I have reason to think he honestly believed that the millions he saw in the air over that quarter section fully justified the fiction.

CURED OF TOWNSITE FEVER.

I was one of a company of four who were tangled among townsites along the Red river of the North in 1857; therefore,

I have charity for men who got boom fever into their blood. J. W. Prentiss and myself, J. C. Moulton, our agent, Pierre Bottineau and his brother Charlie, who were our guides, with four teamsters, making a total of nine men, started from St. Paul, January 2nd, 1857. Our destination was the junction of the Bois des Sioux and Otter Tail rivers, where Breckenridge and Wahpeton now stand. We had two long sleds, built for hard usage, and five yoke of oxen. Our route was by way of St. Cloud, lake Whipple, lake Pomme de Terre, and Lightning lake. We were twenty-seven days getting through, and six of us lived out there through the hardest February, March, and April, I have ever seen. After the first week out the snow averaged two feet deep on the unburned prairie, and from six inches to a foot where it had been burned over. The surface of the latter, swept by forty degrees below zero winds, was covered by a sharp crust that bit the legs of our cattle sorely. During the latter part of the trip, they were swelled to three times their natural size, and nearly every step they made was stained with blood. The depressions of the trail were everywhere drifted full, and where we could not get around them, they had to be shoveled through.

The extreme severity of the winter and spring made relief impossible until May 11th. In the meantime, nine of our ten oxen had starved to death, there being nothing available for them after the first week of February, but elm browse. Before the close of February, our own supplies had become so exhausted that we had to eat the attenuated hams of our starved-to-death cattle.

From April 13th until May 11th a little Englishman, whom we called Billy, and I, held down a townsite opposite Graham's Point, near where McCauleyville now is. We found patches of woods along the river down there, where we shot squirrels, prairie chickens, and rabbits, now and then, and when that supply failed us, we alternated with boiled cat fish and tea, without salt or other condiments.

I returned to St. Anthony in June, and went back to newspaper editing, thoroughly cured of my townsite fever; and, though more than forty-six years have passed, I have not seen a rod of that country since. The quarter share of lots coming to me, in three townsites we platted that winter, went for taxes many years ago, and all now are farms.

This incident of my pioneer life in Minnesota is related to show the almost lunatic wildness here in the fifties. The rush for the new lands and business of the Northwest quite equaled the stampede to the gold fields of California in 1849. Sixteen or eighteen steamboats often lay at the St. Paul landings at one time, discharging passengers and freight. May 7th, 1857, twenty-four steamboats were here. One boat, the War Eagle, brought up 814 people on a single trip.

Of course, the newspaper business boomed in those times, with everything else. Nine new weekly newspapers were added in 1855 to the fourteen already established in Minnesota. In 1856 eighteen more came. To these were added twenty-eight more in 1857. One daily, the Falls Evening News, was also started. The year 1857 began, therefore, with a total of forty-one weeklies and five dailies, and it closed with sixty-nine weeklies and six dailies. Of course, not nearly all of these were living at the close of 1857. But think of this number of newspapers spread over the then sparsely populated territory of Minnesota!

LAKE CITY TRIBUNE.

The forty-second weekly newspaper established in Minnesota was mentioned by the Pioneer and Democrat of January 15th, 1857, which said: "The first number of the Lake City Tribune, published and edited by Doughty, Tibbetts, and Dwelle, has come." The St. Paul Advertiser of January 17th also announces the arrival of the first number. The Advertiser quotes it as late as June 12th, 1858. Its place of publication was Lake City, Wabasha county, and it probably was the first newsparer published there. From G. M. Dwelle, son of one of the proprietors of the paper, I learn that he has number one of volume one of the Tribune, and that it is dated January 3rd, 1857. It is treasured as an heir loom by his family. The editor of the paper was A. A. Norwood. Mr. Dwelle says he also has a copy of the date of September 18th, 1858, where the names of D. C. Story and A. A. Norwood appear as editors; and a copy dated May 5th, 1860, in which the name of Elijah Porter appears as editor and publisher. Three copies of this paper, all that I know to be preserved, show thus three editorial changes in three years.

THE MINNESOTA ADVERTISER

was the forty-third newspaper of Minnesota. Its proprietor was George F. Brott, one of the projectors of Bois des Sioux City and other towns surveyed on our expedition to the Red river of the North in 1857, and one of the chief promoters of St. Cloud, Stearns county, in its early days. This was the first newspaper started in St. Cloud. Its editor was my old friend, Henry W. Cowles, a talented young attorney, now deceased, who came from one of the southern states and located first at St. Anthony, and afterward at St. Cloud. C. W. West was its publisher. It was independent in politics.

As the earliest number of the paper in the Historical Society Library is No. 7 of Volume I, dated February 26th, 1857, its first issue would be dated January 15th. The History of Stearns County, however, claims that the paper began January 1st, 1857, and that James Mowatt was the publisher. If so, he must have retired before February 26th, for that issue has the name of West at the head of its columns. As Mowatt was a good, practical printer, it is probable that really he was foreman of the paper. Cowles soon resigned and was succeeded by James C. Shepley, another attorney. In the fall of 1857, Brott discontinued the Advertiser. It was run chiefly as a townsite promoter.

GEORGE F. BROTT.

Brott was about the best sample of the western hustler that this region has ever produced. His town assets were scattered promiscuously over northern Minnesota. It used to be said that, no matter where Brott decided to plant a town, all he had to do was to step out into the surrounding hazel brush to find tools to do it with. Debts troubled him no more than rain troubles a duck. Why need debts worry him? He always had town lots to pay them with, until the crash of 1857 crippled him, when he drifted south, trading himself as he went into another fortune. After the war, he settled in Washington, and a few months ago he died. Hustling, jovial, joking, impulsive George F. Brott, like Henry McKenty, was a product of the wild, free, pioneer Northwest. The last of such men went with the buffalo, and the mold in which they were cast was long since broken and swept away by the advancing tide of immigration.

HYRORUM RAPIDS.

Most of the newspapers of territorial times in Minnesota were started to help sell lots in the young towns where they were located. They seldom had enough subscription and advertising backing to pay their running expenses and the livings of their editors. They were important helpers, however, in getting new towns on their feet; and when one editor starved out or stepped higher politically, professionally, or in business ways, some new briefless lawyer, or other bright, but moneyless young man was willing to take his place, and to try for a lift in turn. So it came that early journalistic duties were performed mainly by a lot of peripatetic editors, many of them forceful, brilliant fellows, who afterward make high marks in business and the professions. Some of the advertisements, circulars, and editorials, that exploited towns, used adjectives freely and misused truth shamefully. A burlesque of the highfalutin descriptions usually employed in such service was printed in the Cedar Falls Banner and republished in the St. Paul Advertiser in 1857. It purported to give a start to a town called Hyrorum Rapids. "Hyrorum," it said, "is situated in a lovely dell, on all sides of which picturesque rocks rear their vine-clad heads, their bases fanned by waving ferns and draped in golden moss. Winding around these picturesque features of the landscape, are verdant paths leading to cozy nooks, bespangled with flowers of such bewildering sweetness that a miser would fling aside his gold and tear his hair in despair in having but one nose; he would sit down, fold up the wings of his fancy, and weep that there was nothing left for imagination. There are no advantages of location in this beautiful town. All lots, wherever situated, are five hundred dollars each, and cheap at double the price."

THE OLMSTED COUNTY JOURNAL

was the forty-fourth newspaper started in Minnesota. The first number of this newspaper seems to have been received by the St. Paul Advertiser April 25th, 1857. I have dated it April 20th, because after diligent search I can find no other record of its first issue than the Advertiser gives. Allowing five days for the Journal to get to St. Paul, and into the Ad-

vertiser, would bring the date about April 20th, and so I start it at that. It was independent in politics, backed by Evans and Robbins, and was the first newspaper published in Rochester, Olmsted county. After printing the paper a short time, Evans and Robbins sold the plant to John H. Hyatt and Martin L. Stewart.

The St. Paul Pioneer of November 19th, 1857, announced its suspension on account of the financial failures following the downfall of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, which occurred on August 25th of that year. On February 3rd, 1858, the material of the Journal was used to start a paper called the Rochester Free Press. I cannot find any of the files of the Olmsted County Journal, nor can I get any more details of its brief history.

THE WAUMADEE HERALD

was the forty-fifth newspaper. About the 10th of May, 1857, two brothers, Joseph and Thomas A. McMasters, started this newspaper at Read's Landing, Wabasha county. At that time, it was thought by some of its citizens that Read's Landing was too prosaic and practical a name to head the paper. The McMasters brothers were of like mind, hence the romantic name of "Waumadee Herald." On the 12th of May, a short time after the first issue was worked off the press, the publication of the Herald came to a sudden and painful pause, for the accidental overturn of the sailboat Chippewa on the Mississippi at Read's Landing, in a gale of wind, drowned both of its proprietors. Four men were in the boat, two of whom were saved.

About six weeks after this accident, Norman Stevens, a young printer, came to Read's Landing from Illinois, procured the aid of some of the business men of the village, bought the Herald plant of the father of the McMasters, and renewed the publication of the paper. As the St. Paul Advertiser of August 15th, 1857, quotes the Waumadee Herald, it must have been continued by Stevens under that name for some time after his purchase. The History of Wabasha County claims that Stevens did not continue the Waumadee Herald, but started the Wabasha County Herald on June 27th, 1857, the date when he bought the material from the elder McMasters. Clearly the history is wrong,

for not only does the Advertiser quote the Waumadee Herald as above, but Vol. 2, No. 22, of the Wabasha County Herald, dated January 29th, 1859, is in the Historical Society Library. Dating back from that number would bring Vol. 1, No. 1, of the Wabasha Herald to September 5th, 1857, which is only twenty days after the last recorded notice of the Waumadee Herald. The truth of the matter probably is that Stevens, tiring of the name "Waumadee Herald," cut it out and began volume one, number one, of the Wabasha County Herald on the fifth of September, 1857.

THE WESTERN TRANSCRIPT

was the forty-sixth newspaper in the territory. It was the third paper started in the little town of Carimona, Fillmore county, within about sixteen months. The two previously started died in early infancy. The Transcript seems to have followed closely the demise of the Carimona Telegraph. The earliest notice of it that I find is in the St. Paul Advertiser of May 30th, 1857. It says it had "just received the first number of the Western Transcript, published at Carimona by I. W. Lucas." It must have started, therefore, about May 20th, 1857. It did not last long, as the July 11th, 1857, issue of the Advertiser announced its suspension. As near as I can find, that was the final newspaper effort in Carimona. No numbers of the Western Transcript seem to be in existence.

THE MONTICELLO TIMES

was the forty-seventh newspaper in my record. It was the six-columned successor of the Monticello Journal, mentioned in my history of 1856. Its first number was dated Thursday, May 21st, 1857. The editors were Rev. S. T. Creighton, one of the proprietors of the town, and J. F. Bradley. C. M. Kenton was assistant editor, and also publisher and proprietor. It was neutral in politics.

June 18th, 1857, Bradley withdrew, and Creighton and Kenton were announced as editors. In July following, Creighton and George F. Brott, of the St. Cloud Advertiser, got into a rather heated controversy over the relative population of Monticello and St. Cloud. Brott was chief promoter of the latter town. In reply to an article reflecting on Creighton, the latter came

back at Brott in a way worthy of the best days of Goodhue and Parson Brownlow. Here is a sample extract:

"Mr. Brott says something about wringing the parson's nasal organ. We wonder what the parson would be doing in the meantime." He then winds up his article by representing the parson as fallen from grace, and that the relation which he sustained to the church in Monticello as pastor might be dissolved by mutual consent of the parties. "As to grace, we never did have, and have not now, much to brag about; still, we have a comfortable hope of weathering the storm and at last having a home in that upper city, equal, if not superior, in size and beauty to St. Cloud. As regards our pastoral relations they still exist, and we are permitted to preach every Sunday to what appears to be a well satisfied congregation."

But to conclude the matter, Brott said, "When we came to the Territory, he took us to his bosom and warmed us into life, and received in return a fatal sting! Warmed into life! We never bought a cent's worth of property of him, never sold him a cent's worth, never borrowed a dollar of him, nor loaned him a dollar; never acted with him one minute in any business whatever. His interests have always been opposed to ours, and he has acted accordingly. If this is heat, Good Lord, save us from the cold!" S. T. Creighton was a Methodist minister; I knew him well.

September 12th, 1857, Creighton resigned the senior editorship of the Times, and was succeeded by Edward Hartley. Kenton still remained as assistant editor, publisher, and proprietor. At the same date, the publication day of the Times was changed to Saturday. The issue of October 24th appeared with Hartley's name missing. Kenton remained sole editor and proprietor. March 3d, 1858, the publication day was changed from Saturday to Wednesday.

June 26th, after a suspension of six weeks, the Times appeared with a new dress. Kenton was announced as publisher, and the place of editor and proprietor was vacant, though it was generally understood that Kenton still remained editor. In January, 1859, there came the usual number of half sheets to carry legal advertisements to a safe conclusion, and on February 16th the Times died, and the remains went to Z. M. Brown, one of the proprietors of Monticello.

THE MINNESOTA FREE PRESS

was the forty-eighth newspaper established in the Territory. The first number was dated May 27th, 1857. It was printed at St. Peter, Nicollet county. William C. Dodge was its editor and proprietor. It was a Republican weekly of eight columns at the beginning; but, on November 18th, finding it carried too much sail, it contracted to seven columns. Even that spread was found too much for the locality and times, and soon afterward it was temporarily discontinued.

April 20th, 1859, an alliance was made with J. K. Moore, and the name changed to St. Peter Free Press, without losing volume or number in the process. Dodge and Moore seemed to be doing finely together until December 21st, 1859, when the plant was totally destroyed by fire with no insurance. That ended the St. Peter Free Press. The St. Paul Advertiser called it the Salt Petre Flea Press, showing that Wheelock began early to invent words to fit things he didn't like.

THE MINNESOTA THALBOTEN

was the forty-ninth newspaper. It was the second German paper established in the Territory. Frederick Orthwein, who started the Minnesota Deutsche Zeitung in 1855, and Albert Wolff, were the originators of the Minnesota Thalboten. It was a small Democratic quarto, and appeared at Chaska, Carver county, during the first week in June, 1857. The Zeitung was started by the Democrats. Orthwein soon went over to the Republicans. Then he turned back to the Democrats. The departure of Orthwein from the Zeitung was thus heralded by the St. Paul Minnesotian: "The Minnesota Zeitung has taken a resting spell by getting clear of its old editor, Orthwein, and is out again in fine style as a Republican paper."

Shortly after the Thalboten was started, the Democrats of the nineteenth district, consisting of Carver and Wright counties, nominated Orthwein for the House of the Minnesota legislature. He was defeated at the fall election, and early in 1858 he pulled up stakes in Chaska and returned to St. Paul, where he had still another paper, which he called the Minnesota National Demokrat. He filled out the unexpired subscription list of the former

with the latter paper. No issues of the Thalboten are in the Historical Library, nor can I find any trace of them elsewhere. Orthwein's trading his Democracy to the Republicans in 1856, and then switching back again, infuriated John P. Owens, the rough and ready editor of the Minnesotian, who was the St. Paul Republican standard-bearer.

MINNESOTA NATIONAL DEMOKRAT.

The first appearance of this paper in the Historical Library is at number forty of volume one, dated March 6th, 1858. This would date the first issue on June 6th, 1857, which is about the date of the first issue of the Minnesota Thalboten of Chaska, which history says was started by Orthwein and Albert Wolff the first week of June, 1857. I think the Thalboten was issued first, and so I have numbered the Demokrat the fiftieth newspaper in general course, being the third German paper started in the Territory.

As no numbers of the Thalboten are in existence, and as Orthwein probably had his hands full with the work of starting the Demokrat in St. Paul, I incline to the belief that Albert Wolff, who had taken a government claim in Carver county, was in charge of the Thalboten at the outset of its career. The Thalboten could not have lasted long, for I find the March 6th, 1858, issue of the Demokrat filling out its unexpired subscription list.

THE MANKATO INDEPENDENT.

I have to go to files of other 1857 newspapers to get the date of the beginning of the Mankato Independent, the fifty-first newspaper started in Minnesota Territory. The St. Paul Advertiser, that faithful chronicler of 1857 newspapers, says, in its issue of June 13th, that the first number of the Mankato Independent had arrived. The June 10th issue of the Valley Herald makes the same announcement, and the Pioneer and Democrat of June 18th says the same. Therefore it was probably begun some time during the first week in June, 1857. The first issue that the Historical Society has is dated August 9th, 1860, and is Volume 4, No. 5, of a semi-weekly published Monday and Thursday. At that date, Hensley and Gunning were publishers and

proprietors, and it was a four-page, five-column, Republican sheet. The History of the Minnesota Valley says that Hensley and Gunning started the paper July 8th, 1862. I find it was issued on Tuesdays and Fridays; and on October 4th, 1862, it was a weekly newspaper published on Saturday.

Mr. Hensley died December 20th, 1862. The paper was continued until July 11th, 1863, when it was sold to Charles H. Slocum, the last publisher of the St. Anthony Express, a paper whose mortuary exercises I conducted in May, 1861. Slocum bought the press and material of the Independent, and interred the defunct enterprise with appropriate ceremonies; and on July 17th, 1863, began volume one, number one, of a seven-column paper called the Mankato Union, before the hearse which had borne the Independent had fairly got out of the already crowded graveyard of early journalism. The Union finally became the property of Gen. J. H. Baker, who merged it with the Mankato Record, and the Union became the Free Press which is still running.

THE EMIGRANT AID JOURNAL.

was the fifty-second of the rapidly increasing newspapers of Minnesota. This is another paper of which I can get no trace, except through history and contemporaneous journals. The St. Paul Advertiser of July 4th, 1857, says, "The second number of the Emigrant Aid Journal has come." This will date the first issue about the middle of June. It was printed at Nininger, Dakota county, and was independent, as usual, in politics. Hon. Ignatius Donnelly was the originator, and A. W. McDonald, at one time connected with the Scientific American, was its editor. It is said that the citizens of Nininger contributed one thousand dollars the first year to give the paper a footing. The St. Paul Advertiser quotes the paper as late as April 10th, 1858. How long it lived after that, is uncertain. It is generally understood, however, that it was about two years old when it died.

THE HOKAH CHIEF

was the fifty-third newspaper started in Minnesota. It was published in Hokah, Houston county. I have had an unusually vex-

atious hunt for the scattered fragments of this newspaper. No early files seem to be in existence. Volume 1, No. 31, the earliest number that I have seen, is dated March 27th, 1858, and would bring Vol. 1, No. 1, to the date of August 29th, 1857. There must have been some of the temporary suspensions usual in getting new newspapers under way in those days, as the St. Paul Advertiser of July 18th, 1857, announces the appearance of the first number, which must therefore have been issued about July 10th, 1857. It was a four-page, seven-column, independent paper, run in its first desultory issues by Charles Reynolds. Late in 1858 or early in 1859, it was suspended entirely. H. Ostrander, a practical printer and graduate from the office of the Albany Evening Journal, an indefatigable hustler, came to Hokah, calked the open seams of the stranded Chief, pried it off the bar, and on April 26th, 1859, floated it anew. When he couldn't pay for help, he ran the craft alone. May 23rd, 1865, after about six years of that sort of struggle, the Chief turned up its toes and died.

Along in the seventies, another Hokah Chief with a new volume and number, was started. This on January 18th, 1893, became the present Houston County Chief, which is still going.

THE SOUTHERN MINNESOTA STAR

was the fifty-fourth newspaper in regular course. This is still another of which I can find no copies. It was published at Albert Lea, Freeborn county. The St. Paul Advertiser, in its issue of July 25th, 1857, mentioned the receipt of the first number. The St. Paul Pioneer of November 19th announced its temporary suspension, owing to financial troubles; and the St. Paul Advertiser of May 29th, 1858, said the Star had died, and charged its decease to the town proprietors. The History of Freeborn County says that Swineford and Gray began the Star on July 11th, 1857. The plant was soon sold under foreclosure of mortgage held by George S. Ruble, one of the proprietors of the town of Albert Lea. Concerning the early newspapers published there, Isaac Botsford says in the Freeborn County Eagle of February 18th, 1860: "Swineford and Gray continued the Southern Minnesota Star thirty-nine weeks, then H. F. Gray published one

number, making forty full numbers for the Star." It was independent in politics.

The Freeborn County Standard, in its issue of May 14th, 1868, says: "The Minnesota Star was first issued July 11th, 1857, and ran about eight months, and died for lack of Democratic support. The press and material lay idle about six months. It was then sold under mortgage foreclosure by George S. Ruble, and went to Alfred P. Swineford, one of the former proprietors of the Star. With it he started the Freeborn County Eagle. Isaac Botsford succeeded to this." Mr. Botsford is the man who announced in his prospectus that he would take for subscriptions anything that grew that he could use, and everything that could be made, except counterfeit money.

THE MANTORVILLE EXPRESS.

was the fifty-fifth newspaper. It was begun in Mantorville, Dodge county, July 16th, 1857. The founder of the paper was J. E. Bancroft. It was independent in politics. C. W. Blaisdell bought a press and material for a paper at Wasioja, a few miles from Mantorville, and there was considerable rivalry between him and Bancroft for a start.

Bancroft's outfit was loaded into a lumber wagon, behind a yoke of oxen, and in crossing the Zumbro river, near Oronoco, the wagon capsized, mixing the type into pi, and wetting down the type before it was needed for the press. This gave Blaisdell so much advantage that he thought there was no need for special hurry. Bancroft, however, was a hustler. He had things pretty well advanced when a man from Wasioja came along about half drunk, on the morning of July 15th, and bragged how Wasioja was coming out ahead of Mantorville in a newspaper way. Bancroft pumped him until he found that Blaisdell intended to start his paper on the 17th. Hardly was his informant out of sight on his way to Rochester, when Bancroft enlisted his wife and all hands for a day and night hustle to get out the Express. Meals were brought to the office, and everybody worked with such small waste of time that, when the Wasioja man came along the next afternoon, the Express was on the street, and he was presented with a copy to take home, with the compliments of Bancroft and

Mantorville. That is how volume one, number one, of the Mantorville Express came to be dated July 16th, and the first issue of the Wasioja Gazette July 17th.

July 31st, 1858, A. LaDue became associated with Bancroft as publisher. February 5th, 1859, LaDue retired. July 30th, 1859, P. C. Compton joined Bancroft, and the paper was enlarged to seven columns. March 24th, 1860, Compton withdrew, and Bancroft ran the paper alone until March, 1866, when he died. His wife went on with the paper, without the lapse of a single issue, but hesitated to let her name appear at the head of the editorial columns until her management had proved a success. July 27th, 1866, a little over four months after the death of Bancroft, the name of his wife, C. E. F. Bancroft, appeared at the head of the paper. She continued to edit and manage it until July 23rd, 1869. Then began a series of editorial changes, of which I have counted sixteen after Bancroft up to November 1st, 1881. The Express survived them all, however, and is still running.

JOHN EARLE BANCROFT.

John E. Bancroft began the Mantorville Express July 16th, 1857, as already stated. He came from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin and then to Mantorville, the year before starting his paper. He was not a man of strong physique, and the hard, self-sacrificing work of building his newspaper on firm foundations so told on his stock of vitality that he died in the spring of 1866. The editor of another paper, writing of Bancroft, said:

> We do not know that he left an enemy in the world, yet he was outspoken against vice, firm in the maintenance of principle, and unsparing in his denunciations of wrong. His character needs not the aid of eulogy, his life was the best eulogium. He lived long enough to secure a permanent and honorable place in the history of our country and state, and a lasting remembrance in the hearts of those who knew him best.

THE WASIOJA GAZETTE

was the fifty-sixth newspaper established in the Territory. The Historical Society does not have any of its issues, nor can I find any elsewhere. July 25th, 1857, the St. Paul Advertiser announced the receipt of its first number, and my account of

the publication of the Mantorville Express fixes the exact date as July 17th. 1857. C. W. Blaisdell was editor and proprietor. Like the Express, the Gazette was independent in politics. The Express of July 24th, 1858, announced S. L. Pierce, a well known attorney, formerly of St. Paul, but now of Redwood Falls, Minn., as associate editor of the Gazette during volume two, then just beginning. The Gazette lived a little over two years, and its place of publication was Wasioja, Dodge county.

About the last of October, 1859, Blaisdell moved his Gazette plant to Rochester, and began the Rochester City News, but finally sold it to U. B. Shaver, who took it to Kasson and started the Dodge County Republican. Mr. Pierce did most of the editorial work on the News while it was running. Blaisdell was a good printer, and after leaving Rochester he went to Chicago, and was for a number of years in charge of the advertising work on the Chicago Times. He retired some years ago and made his home at Los Angeles, California.

SQUIRE L. PIERCE.

S. L. Pierce was born March 6th, 1832, at Trenton, Ohio. He studied law with M. B. Chadwick, and at the age of twenty-one was admitted to the bar. He moved to Wasioja in 1856, and lived there and at Mantorville until 1872, when he moved to St. Paul. He practiced law in this city until 1902, and then went to Redwood Falls, where he now lives. He held the office of county attorney of Dodge county for two terms, from 1860.

Mr. Pierce always had a strong bent towards journalism. Besides acting as editor for the Wasioja Gazette and Rochester News, as before stated, he wrote for the Mantorville Express and assisted both Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft in editing and publishing it. While living in Mantorville, he contributed regularly, over the signature of "Occasional," to the Winona Republican.

RED WING SENTINEL, NO. 2,

is the name I have given to the fifty-seventh newspaper begun in Minnesota. The Sentinel No. 1 was the seventeenth in regular course, and its history has been given among the newspapers

of 1855. After Merritt and Hutchins sold the press and materials of the Sentinel, No. 1, to Alexis Bailly, it went to Hastings, as has been stated. The Gazette was then started by N. V. and C. Bennett, and Merritt went into the hotel business. Tiring of that business, he bought the Gazette, according to the St. Paul Advertiser, about June 1st, 1857, and ran it under that name until about August 1st of that year, as the Advertiser quotes the Gazette as late as July 25th. The issue of August 1st of the Advertiser then makes its first mention of the Sentinel, so that must have been about the time the change was made.

Bennett, in the meantime, formed another alliance with William Colvill, afterward well known as the colonel of the First Minnesota regiment, so that the latter became editor of Sentinel No. 2, as he formerly had been of No. 1. Bennett also became its publisher, and, without further ceremony, the volume and numbers of Red Wing Sentinel, No. 1, were picked up and carried on, the same as though there had been no sale of the press and material of the old Sentinel to Bailly, no valedictory of the Sentinel, as noted by the Pioneer and Democrat of May 15th, 1855, and no intervening publication of the Minnesota Gazette to supply its place.

On March 26th, 1859, Merritt sold again, and on April 9th, 1859, E. A. Littlefield and Martin Maginnis, the latter afterward delegate to Congress from Montana, became the publishers, Colvill remaining as editor. On February 4th, 1860, Colvill sold his interest to W. W. Phelps, who had been the member of Congress from the Red Wing district, because, as he said in his retiring editorial, he foresaw a Democratic storm coming in the Charleston convention. In the next issue of the Sentinel, Phelps appeared as editor. On August 15th, 1860, Littlefield dropped out, and Maginnis went on alone as publisher, Phelps remaining as editor.

At a meeting noted for its patriotism, held April 23rd, 1861, in Red Wing, a company called the Goodhue Volunteers was organized, and William Colvill was unanimously elected captain, and Martin Maginnis first sergeant. The next day the Sentinel, at Vol. 5, No. 39, April 24th, 1861, was discontinued. Its material was sold to James Parker, and made the basis of the Goodhue Volunteer, a patriotic paper which did excellent ser-

vice for the Union, until it, in turn, died near the close of the war. I find in the issue of the Volunteer of May 6th, 1863, that the exact date when the material of the Sentinel was purchased by the Volunteer was May 3rd, 1861.

WILLIAM W. PHELPS.

W. W. Phelps was born in Oakland, Michigan, in 1822; was graduated at the University of Michigan, and studied law; and was admitted to the bar in 1854. While a member of the Michigan legislature, he was appointed register of the United States Land Office at Red Wing, which was opened February 1st, 1855. He was elected to Congress when Minnesota became a state, and served twice as mayor of Red Wing. He was a Democrat of the old school, and did much to give an elevated tone to early journalism. He was also very useful in placing Red Wing on the solid foundations she now enjoys. He died August 3rd, 1873.

THE ROCHESTER DEMOCRAT

was the fifty-eighth newspaper established in the Territory. The St. Paul Advertiser of August 29th, 1857, says, "The Rochester Democrat and Olmsted County Journal are the only papers running in Rochester, Olmsted county." Volume 1, No. 33, of March 18th, 1858, being the first number of the Democrat that I can find, I am compelled to count back, for Volume 1, No. 1. In that way, I make the beginning August 6th, 1857. The last issue in the Historical Library bears the date of October 21st, 1858. In that number Charles W. Cotton, the owner and editor, says that he is going to Winona, where on Wednesday, November 17th, 1858, he will begin the Winona Democrat. As he took his press and material with him, the Rochester Democrat died. It was a four-page, seven-column Democratic sheet.

THE CANNON FALLS BULLETIN

was the fifty-ninth newspaper. I can find but few traces of it. The St. Paul Advertiser of August 29th, 1857, says it has re-

ceived the first two numbers. It must, therefore, have been started early in August of that year. The Advertiser quotes it on December 5th of the same year, which is the last heard of it in the newspapers. No copies of it are to be found. The Bulletin was started in Cannon Falls, Goodhue county, by R. A. Hoag and Brother, with the plant of the Cannon Falls Gazette. At the close of 1857, seeing better prospects in Northfield, Rice county, they moved the press and material to that place, and started the Northfield Journal. In August, 1862, R. A. Hoag enlisted in the army, and three years later he came out a captain. In 1870 he removed to his farm near Northfield.

THE HASTINGS INDEPENDENT

was the sixtieth newspaper. The first that I find of it in the Historical Library is No. 26 of Volume 2, January 29th, 1859. Again I have to count back to get Volume 1, No. 1. Assuming no suspensions, I find the date August 6th, 1857, which must be very nearly correct. It was a four-page, seven-column, Republican paper; and Columbus Stebbins was its owner, editor, and publisher. It was the second weekly newspaper established in Dakota county. Stebbins ran it until its union with the Minnesota Conserver, November 24th, 1866. The Independent and Conserver then died, the union of the two papers producing the Gazette under the firm name of Todd and Stebbins.

COLUMBUS STEBBINS

was a native of Indiana. Though of only a common school education, he possessed such natural talent that he uplifted and bettered journalism whenever he used his pen. He was the friend and exponent of all that would best advance the interests of Minnesota. A close attendant to his editorial duties, he made a bright county and local newspaper. He laid the foundation of the Hastings Independent broad and strong, and it lasted well. He died December 21st, 1878.

The sixty-first Minnesota newspaper, the latest established prior to the bursting of the mid-fifty boom in August, 1857, was

THE GLENCOE REGISTER, NO. 1.

Number 2 of its first volume is in the Historical Library, and is dated August 15th, 1857. It began, therefore, on August 8th, 1857; and it was founded by Hon. L. L. Baxter. It was a four-page, six-column, Republican paper at the beginning. William R. Baxter, who was killed at Guntown, Mississippi, during the Rebellion, was editor, and Horace Baxter publisher. The last week of November, 1857, Colonel John H. Stevens and William S. Chapman bought the Register, and it became Democratic. The name of H. O. Hammond appeared as the first publisher under Stevens and Chapman, Colonel Stevens being the editor. May 1st, 1858, Hammond retired, and on May 15th Marshall Robinson became publisher.

In September, 1862, Robinson enlisted to help quell the Indian outbreak, and, as a measure of safety, the Register suspended publication until January, 1863, when it was printed a short time by Frank Daggett. Colonel Stevens still remained editor, however, until August, 1863, when he sold the paper to G. K. Gilbert and A. J. Snyder. They ran it about six months, when it suspended. In November, 1864, Gilbert sold his interest to Snyder. In May, 1866, Snyder leased the paper to C. A. Bennett, who published it as the Glencoe Weekly Register until February 27th, 1868. At that time he sold it to Frank Belfoy, who ran it until April 2nd, 1868, when he tried to turn it into the McLeod County Register; but at Volume 1, No. 13, of the new issue, it ran into the ground, or, as Colonel Stevens tersely phrased it, "It dried up." Belfoy afterward started the first paper ever printed in Meeker county.

February 25th, 1869, James C. Edson started the Glencoe Register, No. 2, as volume one, number one. In that issue he gave a detailed history of Glencoe Register, No. 1, of which the above account is an abstract. This number is on file in the vaults of the Historical Society.

The Register, No. 2, was continued by Edson to Volume 4, No. 12, May 16th, 1872, when he sold the plant to Liberty Hall, who conducted it to Volume 7, No. 36, November 4th, 1875. The next issue thereafter was enlarged to eight columns, and then the volume was jumped from 7 to 19, with the probable in-

tention of covering the lifetime of Register No. 1. That paper, however, ran only from August 8th, 1857, to Volume 9, No. 37, making eight years and thirty-seven weeks of continuous existence, in about ten years and eight months of time, including its Indian War and other temporary suspensions meantime. Register No. 2 is still running.

COLONEL JOHN H. STEVENS.

Colonel John H. Stevens was born in Canada, June 13th, 1820; was educated in the common schools; enlisted in the United States Army during the Mexican War; served through it, and came to Minnesota in 1849; and was the first settler on the west side of the river in what is now Minneapolis. The house he built stood on part of the ground now occupied by the Union railway depot. It stands at present in Minnehaha park, belonging to the city, having been drawn there by thousands of the school children of Minneapolis, working by relays, in the spring of 1896. The excitement of the day was too much for Colonel Stevens, and he suffered a stroke of paralysis in consequence, from which he never recovered. He died May 28th, 1900.

Colonel Stevens was a born farmer. He loved the vocation as he did his life. Many a time, while editor of the Express over on the St. Anthony side of the river, I have gone to him for local items. He never failed to respond with from one to two columns; and the best stock and biggest squash, pumpkins, and watermelons of the farms around Minneapolis, were prolific subjects of his graphic sketches. Besides the Glencoe Register, he conducted the Minneapolis Chronicle, Farmer and Gardener, Farmers' Tribune, and the Farm, Stock, and Home. As president of the Minnesota State Agricultural Society, he did much to introduce superior methods of farming and stock-raising.

He was the first register of deeds of Hennepin county, and served several terms in both branches of the Legislature of Minnesota. His book of "Personal Recollections" is full of valuable chronicles of early days, and will become more and more useful as the years go by. During the Indian uprising of 1862 he served as brigadier general of the militia sent to the front to subdue the savages. Through his position as the first claimholder

where the largest part of Minneapolis now stands, Colonel Stevens had the chance of his life to die a millionaire. His unselfish efforts to foster and upbuild Minneapolis, however, prevented this. He died in comfortable circumstances, however, the same genial, free-handed, noble-hearted man that he had lived through his long life of nearly eighty years.

SUMMARY TO AUGUST 25TH, 1857.

Of the nineteen newspapers established in Minnesota between January 1st and August 25th, 1857, only one, the Mantorville Express, survives. Indeed, few of these papers survived the boom that brought them into existence.

The ballooning of the journalism of those days was very aptly burlesqued by John P. Owens, in the Daily Minnesotian of May 18th, 1857. I believe that I cannot close this part of my paper more appropriately than by quoting a portion of the article. The supposed newspaper of which he wrote was named "The Exponent of Morality, Truth, and Justice." The paper had become so popular in the new city of Olean that its publishers were compelled to issue an extra prospectus. They said:

> We come before the tremendous and hourly increasing number of our readers this morning, in an enlarged form. Our advertising friends have actually compelled us to make room for them, two of our clerks having been crushed to death in the crowd of patrons who thronged the counting-room with advertisements. We have added forty-five columns to our paper. Our city circulation is immense. We employ two hundred compositors and fifty pressmen. Three editors are constantly at work, and we are in hopes, as soon as we can procure workmen, to be able to issue a semi-daily the size of a bed blanket.
>
> N. B.—Thirty carriers wanted immediately.
>
> P. S.—Wanted, a partner with a little money.
>
> P. P. S.—Wanted, Fifty compositors. Lots in Olean given for work! ! ! Great inducements to printers! ! ! !

FIFTH PAPER, AUGUST 25TH, 1857, TO MAY 11TH, 1858.

The old time editor was a thorough pioneer. He helped lay the foundations of Minnesota deep and strong, and was as honorable in his calling as the early merchant, doctor, lawyer, or business man. Politically, he was a partisan, and a firm and hon-

est believer in the adage, "To the victor belong the spoils." To keep body and soul in touch, he needed the infrequent doles of mail-letting advertisements and the Territorial and County printing of those times, to supplement his attenuated returns from subscriptions, advertising ,and job work; and when his party was in power he carefully corralled such helps.

Where a party fight was on, he was ready and usually pretty rough; where a public or party service was needed, he was expected to be the pack-horse to carry supplies. In the community at large, he was the genial, good-natured squash advertiser, for which he usually got the squash. The situation was rather broadly described by an early editor who printed this notice: "Our family being now settled in housekeeping, we will take for subscriptions anything we can wear or that hogs can eat."

A man of infinite resources was the old time editor. He was a rare combination of editorial writer, type-setter, and printer's devil. As a rule, he had the spirit and grit of an early editor of the Freeborn County Standard. When some miscreant whom he had scored tried to even up by stealing the lever of his hand press, he set up a scalding note explanatory of the delay in getting out his paper, unlocked the editorial form, put it in, and then worked off the edition with a fence rail.

But amid all his hustling wear and tear, no editor of any class, time, or kind, preserved a larger measure of integrity. I could name some of those sturdy pioneer editors who threw up their jobs rather than support men or measures dictated by boodling newspaper owners.

Do not understand by this tribute to his common honesty that I praise the early editor as a saint. He often said and did things that would neither sound nor look well inside a church; but it was never said of him, as has been too often said of the modern editor, that it was his vocation to "raise hell and sell newspapers." Nor did he pander to the animal instincts of human nature by watching the dirty debris of society to see where the devil would break out next, and have a reporter on hand to tell about it.

Giving the modern newspaper full credit for the mighty power it wields for good in the affairs of men, the scandals it too often prints spread moral disease among the young, with tre-

mendous counteracting effect. It is human nature to want to see into hell as far as possible, but there is a place in the way where the bars should be put up before our boys and girls and not removed until they come to years of discretion.

THE FINANCIAL CRASH OF 1857.

August 25th, 1857, the Ohio Life and Trust Company of New York, with a branch in Cincinnati, failed. It had liabilities of nearly seven million dollars. With it went down a large number of banks. These failures started the financial crash of 1857.

Undeterred by this disaster, Lucius F. Hubbard, afterward a general in the Union army, and governor of Minnesota, started a newspaper in Red Wing. He named it

THE RED WING REPUBLICAN.

Its first issue was dated September 4th, 1857, and it was the sixty-second weekly begun in Minnesota Territory. That its foundations, even in those insecure times, were built deep and strong, is shown by the fact that it is one of the few Minnesota newspapers which survived the trying crisis of 1857 and is yet in good working order. It started as a four-page, seven column sheet; and it then was, and still is, Republican in politics.

November 20th, 1857, F. D. Meredith, who died some years ago, became associated with Hubbard, and the firm name was Hubbard and Meredith until October 1st, 1858. Then Meredith retired, and Mr. Hubbard went on alone until August 12th, 1859, when Charles L. Davis joined Hubbard, and the managers became Hubbard and Davis, the former being the main editor. At that time, the name was changed to the Goodhue County Republican.

December 19th, 1861, Mr. Hubbard enlisted in the Fifth Minnesota Regiment, and the firm of Hubbard and Davis was dissolved. Mr. Meredith then returned, and the name of the firm again became Hubbard and Meredith, the former being the proprietor, and the latter the editor and manager during the absence of Mr. Hubbard. March 28th, 1862, the ownership and editorial management went to C. L. Davis, and Meredith once more re-

tired. Then Davis enlisted in the Tenth Minnesota Infantry, and September 19th, 1862, placed E. A. Littlefield in charge, who became the editor. At that date the paper was cut to six columns, on account of the hard times.

May 27th, 1864, Littlefield turned over the paper to Colonel William Colvill, satisfied, as he said, that there was "more honor than profit in running a country newspaper." Colvill printed a salutatory tersely characteristic of the hero of Gettysburg. It ran as follows: "With this issue I take charge of the Republican. Correspondence should be addressed accordingly."

August 26th, 1864, the paper went back to the seven-column issue, Davis still retaining his interest. March 30th, 1866, H. K. Parker became editor and part proprietor. August 9th, 1867, William R. Snider bought half of the paper, and August 9th, 1868, he bought the remaining half. June 10th, 1869, T. H. Perkins, of the Lake City Leader, bought a half interest of Snider, and September 30th, 1869, Snider sold the other half to S. P. Jennison, the firm becoming Jennison and Perkins. December 26th, 1878, Perkins retired, and Mr. Jennison became sole proprietor. He continued alone until July 29th, 1880, when there was a combination of the Goodhue County Republican with B. B. Herbert's Advance. The Advance was printed Wednesdays, and the Republican Saturdays.

November 29th, 1884, the Republican, the Advance, and the Sun, united under the name of the Red Wing Printing Company. They published the papers Wednesdays and Saturdays, as before, with Herbert and Tams Bixby as editors.

October 12th, 1885, the first number of the Red Wing Daily Republican was issued. January 1st, 1886, Bixby retired, and Herbert and Jennison became editors and proprietors. In November, 1889, Herbert sold his interest to Jennison; and in March, 1894, Bixby bought Jennison's interest, and has continued the management to the present time.

LUCIUS F. HUBBARD.

Lucius F. Hubbard was born in Troy, New York, January 26th, 1836. He came to Red Wing in 1857, and started the Red Wing Republican on September 4th of that year, as before stated. December 19th, 1861, he enlisted in the Union army as a private

in Company A, Fifth Infantry. He was made captain, February 5th, 1862; lieutenant colonel, March 24th, 1862; colonel, August 31st, 1862; and brigadier general, December 16th, 1864, for gallant services in the battle of Nashville. He was in more than twenty battles of the war, was slightly wounded two or three times, and was mustered out at Mobile in September, 1865. He was register of deeds for Goodhue county from 1858 to 1860, state senator from 1871 to 1875, and governor of Minnesota from January 10th, 1882, to January 5th, 1887. A sterling man in every sense is Governor Hubbard. He is now a resident and business man of St. Paul.

THE WABASHA COUNTY HERALD

was the sixty-third newspaper established within a little more than eight years after the organization of Minnesota as a Territory. The Waumadee Herald had come to an untimely end at Read's Landing, by the drowning of its founders, the McMasters brothers, in May, 1857, as previously stated. With the aid of some of the business men of Read's Landing, Norman E. Stevens, a young printer from Illinois, had purchased the press and material of the father of the McMasters brothers, and June 27th, 1857, he began the issue of the Waumadee Herald anew.

That the renewal was called the Waumadee Herald is proved by the fact that the August 13th, 1857, issue of the St. Paul Advertiser quotes it. That it was not called the Wabasha Herald at that time, is shown by the additional fact that the first issue of the paper with Wabasha in the name, and the first issue in fact that I can find anywhere, being No. 22 of Volume 2 in the Historical Library, dated January 29th, 1859, would carry No. 1 of Volume 1 no farther back than September 5th, 1857. No. 22 of Volume 2, was a seven-column, Republican sheet, and was named the Wabasha County Read's Landing Herald. I have therefore fixed September 5th, 1857, instead of June 27th, 1857, as the beginning of the Wabasha County Herald.

Wabasha and Read's Landing are towns quite near each other, and at the time the Herald was started they were rivals. To satisfy both towns, it seems that Stevens printed "The Wabasha County Herald" across the head of the paper, while above the cut in the middle of the heading he inserted, in smaller letters,

"Read's Landing." These words came also just before the date, and also at the head of the editorial columns. Evidently, it was intended to be a paper for both towns, with Read's Landing its place of publication. Such details are rather dry, but they seem necessary in giving the send-off to some of these early newspapers.

July 23rd, 1859, C. W. Wheaton became associated with Stevens as editor. He lasted until March 1st, 1860, when he retired. On August 11th following, the small lettered "Read's Landing," above the cut on the title-page, disappeared; but the name was still retained elsewhere in the paper. Evidently this lapse was discovered by some jealous resident of Read's, for on December 15th there was a general acrobatic mix of Read's and Wabasha in the title-page heading, which continued to Volume 4, No. 15, January 5th, 1861. The History of Wabasha says that about this time the paper was moved to Wabasha, to take the place of the Journal, which had gone to Lake City.

The file of the weekly edition ends in the Historical Library at January 12th, 1861; and on the 30th a semi-weekly edition takes its place, beginning with Volume 1, No. 1, and running four pages of five columns each. March 13th, 1861, the paper was enlarged to six columns, and it so remained with "Wabasha County Herald" at the head, and "Wabasha and Read's Landing" the places of publication, and N. E. Stevens editor and publisher. This arrangement continued to No. 42 of Volume 2, July 19th, 1862. Stevens then disposed of his subscription list to U. B. Shaver, publisher of the Pepin Wisconsin Press; but he retained his press and material, and with it started an unsuccessful newspaper venture at Plainview, Wabasha county. He also remained associate editor with Shaver, in conducting the Herald, the firm name being Shaver and Stevens, editors, and U. B. Shaver, publisher.

At No. 47 of Volume 2, August 6th, 1862, the semi-weekly experiment of the Herald ended; but the numbering of the semi-weekly continued, the paper remaining the six columns in size of the former semi-weekly. October 8th to December 11th, 1862, the papers mix in the files. At the latter date the firm of publishers became Shaver and Stevens; and the editorial arrangement, Stevens and Shaver. This continued until the issue of

July 9th, 1863, when the numbers seemed to change from the semi-weekly to the weekly. The weekly was then enlarged to seven columns, and became a full-fledged Wabasha newspaper.

In explanation of the transfer of interest and arrangement of firm name, the Herald account of it is that U. B. Shaver assumed control of the paper early in July, 1862, and in the next October resold half his interest to Stevens. This business relation and the publishing and editorial arrangement above noted seem to have continued to September 17th, 1863, when there is another interruption in the files until May 12th, 1864. Mr. Shaver was then announced as sole editor and proprietor, Stevens having sold out and gone to Paxton, Illinois. July 28th, 1864, Shaver sold an interest in the plant to R. H. Copeland, of the Alma (Wisconsin) Journal. Early in 1865 Copeland dropped out of the paper and enlisted in the Union army, and Shaver went on alone until August 2nd, 1865, when E. W. Gurley and Frank E. Daggett bought the paper and Shaver retired.

March 8th, 1866, Gurley dropped out, and Daggett went on alone. May 3rd, 1866, Henry W. Rose bought in with Daggett and the firm became Daggett and Rose. August 16th, 1866, the paper was enlarged to eight columns, and May 2nd, 1867, to nine. November 7th, 1867, the name of Daggett dropped out; and December 5th Rose became sole editor and proprietor. April 2nd, 1868, Rose died, and from that time until May 14th J. K. Arnold was editor. Daggett then returned and his name appeared in the issue of May 14th, 1868, Frank (642) Daggett.

"642" was humorous in meaning and referred to the extreme weight of Daggett, who was about five feet six, and weighed two hundred and fifty pounds. He was joked so much about "642", however, that he dropped it and became the plain Frank Daggett his friends loved so well. October 13th, 1870, Daggett sold to Sharpe and Palmer, and about that time the paper went back to an eight-column issue. The valedictory of Daggett is so characteristic of the man that I quote the following paragraph of its conclusion:

To all the good friends who have aided me by cheering words and generous patronage, I say, Command me in all things an honorable man can do for his friends. To that other crowd who love me not, but on the contrary have feelings of an otherwise character, I have that good-natured

contempt which one can afford to have for men he neither respects nor fears. I wish those who think they owe me a cowhiding to distinctly understand that I freely forgive the debt and hereby receipt the same in full.

Daggett went to Litchfield, Meeker county, and in company with W. D. Joubert, started the Litchfield Ledger. He died October 14th, 1876. He was one of the best paragraphists the press of Minnesota ever had.

September 5th, 1872, Amasa T. Sharpe, of the firm of Sharpe and Palmer, sold his interest to W. S. Walton, and the firm became Walton and Palmer. December 19th, 1872, Palmer sold his interest to Walton. June 12th, 1873, Walton associated W. H. Huntington with him, and he remained until October 23rd, 1873. June 10th, 1875, Walton changed the paper to a six-column, eight-page issue, and associated with him his brother, H. H. Walton; and June 17th, 1875, the management became "The Herald Company," and ran that way until May 7th, 1879, when W. H. H. Matteson and W. L. Lewark became editors and proprietors. Somewhere between October 3rd, 1877, and September 18th, 1878, the Herald changed from the six-column, eight-page issue, back to its nine-column, four-page shape. The exact date of this change I cannot get, as there is a break in the files in 1877 and 1878.

March 30th, 1881, Matteson and Lewark sold to O. F. Collier; and February 1st, 1893, Collier sold to J. F. McGovern and Company, who are still running the paper.

THE FALLS EVENING NEWS

was the sixth daily newspaper started in the Territory. W. A. Croffut and Edwin Clark were the proprietors. Mr. Clark was the moving spirit in this transaction. Born in Bridgewater, N. H., February 25th, 1834, in a line of prominent and influential families of New England, he brought to the west the energetic spirit needed to develop and drive the business part of early journalism to its best success.

The first thing Mr. Clark did was to form a strong combination of Republican business men of St. Anthony. Through their aid, he purchased for the firm of Croffut and Clark, the Minnesota Republican, a weekly newspaper that was being edit-

ed and published by Rev. C. G. Ames. He also provided for the daily above named. The history of the Republican was given in Part I of this paper. The purchase was made September 3rd, 1857; and the Falls Evening News, the daily connected therewith, was issued on the 26th of that month. It was a four-page, six-column paper, of which Mr. Croffut was editor, and Mr. Clark the publisher and business manager. January 7th, 1859, the name Republican of the weekly was changed to Minnesota State News.

November 5th, 1859, Croffut disposed of his interest to Uriah Thomas, a talented young attorney and former member of the firm of Hancock and Thomas of Minneapolis. Hancock was a brother of General Winfield S. Hancock, of Civil War fame. The News firm then became Thomas and Clark.

April 16th, 1861, the News suspended its daily publication; and in 1863 the weekly establishment was sold by Thomas and Clark to William S. King, being merged into the State Atlas.

The Minnesota Republican, of which the Minnesota State News was the successor, enjoyed the distinction of being the first Republican paper established in the Territory of Minnesota.

In 1865 Mr. Clark was appointed United States Indian agent for the Chippewas, by President Lincoln, and the following year was reappointed. He afterward built a flour mill at Melrose, Minn., and also carried on a large mercantile business. In 1894 he returned to Minneapolis, and is now a prominent mover in the affairs of the Territorial Pioneers Association. He is a stirring, energetic man, and nothing drags while he has anything to do with it.

WILLIAM A. CROFFUT.

W. A. Croffut was born in Redding, Fairfield County, Conn., in 1836. His schooling was academic, but not collegiate. He began to write for the newspapers at the age of sixteen, and in 1854 was penning editorials for the Waterbury Democrat. In 1855 he was made editor of the Valley Messenger at Derby, Conn.

The Derby Journal had been owned and edited by Thomas M. Newson, who established the St. Paul Times in 1854. New-

son offered Croffut early in 1856 the position of reporter for the Times at eight dollars a week. Croffut accepted and soon after became city editor; and, during the absence of Newson, east after a wife, he was made editor in chief.

In September, 1857, Mr. Croffut and Edwin Clark purchased the Minnesota Republican and started the Falls Evening News, the first daily established outside of St. Paul in the Territory of Minnesota.

After disposing of his interest in the News to Uriah Thomas in 1859, as before stated, Mr. Croffut returned to Connecticut and became editor of the Danbury Jeffersonian, a weekly Republican paper, which the next year was merged into the Danbury News. In 1860 he returned to Minnesota and edited the State Atlas, while its owner, Colonel W. S. King, was in Washington.

In 1861 Croffut enlisted as a three months man in the First Minnesota Regiment at Fort Snelling, was mustered out, followed the regiment as correspondent of the New York Tribune, and went through the Battle of Bull Run with it.

During the next two years Mr. Croffut was Tribune correspondent in the Army of the Potomac. In 1864 he edited the Rochester Democrat, and in 1866 he bought a half interest in the Palladium, of New Haven, Conn., and became its editor. Two years afterward, he sold his interest in that paper and wrote a Rebellion History of Connecticut, which had a large sale. He next became associated with Lyman C. Draper, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison, Wis., in the publication of a book entitled "A Helping Hand for American Homes." In 1870, be became managing editor of the Evening Post of Chicago, and in 1871 was induced by Colonel King to return to Minneapolis and edit the Minneapolis Tribune.

He remained in Minneapolis nearly three years; but, upon receiving an advantageous offer from the New York Daily Graphic, he joined its staff in New York, where he wrote editorials nearly five years. He then joined the staff of the Daily Tribune under Whitelaw Reid, and in the meantime carried on a weekly correspondence with newspapers in about fifteen different states, illustrating the letters as they were printed. In 1886 he went to Washington and became editor of the Daily Post. In 1888 he became executive officer of the United States Geological

Survey, but still continued his general correspondence with the newspapers. In the fall of 1894 Mr. Croffut retired to private life, and has since resided in Washington.

No one can truthfully say that Mr. Croffut's long, busy journalistic career has been unversatile. Wherever he went, he carried a chip on his shoulder, and had as much fun with his pen as an old time Irishman with his shillalah. His spicy Tribune war articles, and his correspondence with his twelve or fifteen newspapers at a later period, attracted much attention and were widely read.

CHATFIELD DEMOCRAT, NO. 2.

Hon. H. R. Wells, of Preston, Fillmore county, writes me, in answer to an inquiry about the beginnings of Democrat No. 2, that he has the files complete. Volume 1, No. 1, he tells me, is dated September 11th, 1857. The history of Chatfield Democrat, No. 1, I gave as far as possible among the newspapers of 1856. Chatfield Democrat, No. 2, was therefore the sixty-fourth newspaper venture launched in the Territory of Minnesota.

This paper, No. 2, was started by C. C. Hemphill. No. 14, Volume 2, December 18th, 1858, is the first issue I have been able to find in the Historical Library. Hemphill continued it to Volume 3, No. 13, December 10th, 1859, when he sold the plant to Gen. Judson W. Bishop, who is now residing in St. Paul. At Volume 4, No. 3, January 21st, 1860, the paper was enlarged to seven columns. May 11th, 1861, General Bishop sold to J. S. McKenny and Company, and went into the army. General Bishop informs me that he purchased the Democrat for $300, and sold it for $1,500, a pretty good speculation for seventeen months holding, while the echoes of the financial crash of 1857 were resounding through the west.

April 17th, 1869, J. S. McKenny having died, J. H. McKenny and Son purchased the paper. Another son soon afterward joined the firm, and the owners were J. H. McKenny and Sons, until the death of J. H. McKenny, May 23rd, 1878. October 28th, 1882, H. B. McKenny left his brother and purchased a half interest in the Lake City Sentinel. January 6th, 1883, the Democrat was enlarged to eight columns, and on October 13th S. S. McKenny

sold the paper to R. McNeill. On June 15th, 1889, McNeill sold to Frank T. Drebert of the Owatonna Journal. November 27th, 1894, the paper was changed to a semi-weekly issue; and May 22nd, 1902, it was combined with the Chatfield News and became the News Democrat. It is now running under that name, Harnish and Stoudt being owners and editors.

THE TRAVERSE DES SIOUX REPORTER

was a seven-column Democratic sheet, and the sixty-fifth newspaper in the Territory. It was launched at Traverse des Sioux, a trading post on the Minnesota river, a short distance north from St. Peter. The date of its first issue was September 17th, 1857.

It seems that a month or so previous to the above date, Milton M. Pearce brought to Traverse des Sioux a $2,500 newspaper and job outfit, from Cleveland, Ohio. He made a contract with the townsite company to issue a weekly newspaper one year, for sundry town lots and a cash bonus of one thousand dollars. It seems that shortly afterward the company became dissatisfied with Pearce, and James J. Green, now editor of the New Ulm News, was induced to buy the office and assume the control.

The financial crash of 1857 was too much for Green. He had to abandon the Traverse des Sioux enterprise with considerable loss. The St. Paul Advertiser quotes it in its issue of January 16th, 1858, and that is the last I can find of it. The townsite company broke up about that time, and the newspaper project failed.

JAMES J. GREEN.

James J. Green was born January 29th, 1830, in Lancaster county, Pa., and came to Minnesota Territory early in 1856. He was elected the first clerk of the district court of Nicollet county, at the first state election in 1857, and about the same time he bought the Traverse des Sioux Reporter. This failing, as stated, he started the Minnesota Statesman in St. Peter, June 11th, 1858. During the war, he was quartermaster sergeant of the First Minnesota Rangers, commanded by Colonel McPhail, and crossed the

plains in 1863, in General Sibley's Indian expedition. He is now editor of the New Ulm News, and is a valued citizen of Brown county, Minnesota.

THE BANCROFT PIONEER.

Again I have to rely upon the St. Paul Advertiser as the anchor to hold a territorial newspaper from drifting without chart or compass upon an unknown sea. The Advertiser of October 24th, 1857, says, "The first number of the Bancroft Pioneer, published at Bancroft, Freeborn county, has just arrived." It was started, therefore, about the middle of October, 1857. David Blakeley was the editor of the Pioneer. He refers to his connection with it in an address before the early settlers of Freeborn County. The address is found in the History of Freeborn County, in the Library of the Historical Society. The concluding part is as follows:

> I stuck to the town of Bancroft as long as a single subscriber remained upon its site, of the three which it originally contained. But when the store was closed, and Comfort departed, and Agent Oliver struck his colors, and I had watched the schooner which bore him and his away from the town, until it disappeared among the oak openings in the distance, I felt
>
> "Like one who treads alone
> Some banquet hall deserted,
> Whose garlands dead, whose lights are fled,
> And all but me departed."

The Pioneer was published in the interest of a land company that owned the town of Bancroft. It ran nearly a year, and when the townsite enterprise failed, the paper died. It was the sixty-sixth newspaper started in the Territory.

DAVID BLAKELEY.

David Blakeley was born in Binghamton, N. Y., in 1831. He came to Minnesota in 1857, and his first editorial venture was with the Bancroft Pioneer. After leaving Bancroft, he started the Mower County Mirror, September 30th, 1858, at Austin; and November 5th, 1859, in company with Cyrenus Blakeley, he started the Rochester City Post at Rochester, Olmsted county, which

they conducted about six years. He was elected and served as secretary of state from November, 1862, to January, 1866. He afterward became owner and editor of the Chicago Post. He next, in 1874, became owner of the Pioneer Press of St. Paul, and in 1875 combined it with the St. Paul Press. In 1876 the Pioneer Press bought the Minneapolis Tribune and Mail and united them under the name of the Pioneer Press and Tribune. In 1877 Blakeley sold out, and bought the Mail part of the aggregation, the Pioneer Press agreeing to drop the Tribune. Blakeley then turned the Mail into the Minneapolis Evening Tribune, and it afterward became the Minneapolis Tribune, as now published.

Finally, Mr. Blakeley left journalism and became owner and manager of the famous Gilmore Band, and afterward managed the Marine Band, of which Sousa was the leader. In the latter business conection he met his death by apoplexy, November 7th, 1896.

THE BELLE PLAINE INQUIRER,

of Belle Plaine, Scott county, was the sixty-seventh Minnesota newspaper. No. 16 of Volume 1, dated March 18th, 1858, is the first issue in the Historical Library, and is the first trace of the paper that I can find anywhere. Counting back, No. 1 would be December 3rd, 1857. As the St. Paul Advertiser of December 5th, 1857, quotes the first number, December 3rd is probably the correct date of the first issue.

David A. Wright was editor and publisher of the Inquirer. Wright helped Judge Atwater run the St. Anthony Express while I was up on the Red river in my wild-goose-town-lot-chase during the first six months of 1857. The Inquirer was a four-page, seven-column, Democratic paper. In the latter part of 1858 J. W. Bennett became associated with Wright as editor and publisher. March 17th, 1859, Wright dropped out of the combination, and Bennett went on alone until July 21st, 1859, when Bennett in turn disappeared and George W. Marsh took his place. The issue of November 17th, 1859, appeared with the name of Marsh as editor printed upside down, which was probably intended to be a humorous reference to the close of his administration. At any rate the next issue contained the names of Horace

G. Baxter and Maurice C. Russell, Baxter being the editor, and Baxter and Russell the publishers.

In the early part of July, 1860, J. L. Macdonald, later judge of the district court, and member of Congress from the Minnesota valley, and his brother, P. S. Macdonald, took charge of the paper, the former acting as editor. In answer to an inquiry from me, Judge Macdonald says he dissolved his conection with the paper in the latter part of 1861. As the last number of the Inquirer in the Historical Library is dated October 12th, 1861, and as Judge Macdonald's name was still at the head of the editorial columns, the paper must have died about the time he left it. I have therefore fixed that date as the finish of the Inquirer. The Judge then purchased the press and material of the St. Anthony Express, my old paper, and with it started the Shakopee Argus, which is still running.

FOLKETS RÖST (PEOPLE'S VOICE).

Folkets Röst is the name of a Democratic Norwegian newspaper published in St. Paul in Territorial times. It was started, I think, near the close of 1857. Earle S. Goodrich, who was editor and proprietor of the Pioneer and Democrat during those early years, informs me that he printed the paper; but he cannot recall any of the details, except that he believes his connection with it left him on the wrong side of the ledger. Although it probably was started earlier than December, 1857, I place it sixty-eighth on the list; and I believe it has the honor of being the first Scandinavian newspaper printed in the Northwest.

In the files of the Pioneer and Democrat of September 28th, 1858, I find the following: "The next number of the Folkets Röst, the Norwegian Democratic paper, will be issued this week. A large extra edition will be printed." This is the only printed record that I can find of this newspaper.

THE NEW ULM PIONEER

was the sixty-ninth paper established in the Territory. The place was New Ulm, Brown county. It was a four-page, five-column sheet, Republican in politics. The first number of this paper in the Historical Library files is No. 46 of Volume 2, January

17th, 1860. It being difficult to get a definite beginning for the Pioneer, from such data, I wrote Hon. William Pfaender, of New Ulm, and he kindly helped me out. He was manager of the German Land Association that took charge of the New Ulm settlement in 1856, and arranged for the publication of a newspaper. A committee, consisting of A. H. Wagner, H. K. Kattmann, C. Kochne and William Pfaender, was appointed by the Association. They established the New Ulm Pioneer on the first of January, 1858, and turned it over to Nucgele and Gerstenhauer as publishers, and H. Kompe as editor. The first issue of the paper was dated January 7th, 1858.

In September, 1861, both publishers enlisted in the Union army, but G. W. O. Barth continued the paper, its last issue appearing on August 16th, 1862, three days before the seige of New Ulm was begun by the Indians. In that siege, the office and contents of the Pioneer were destroyed by fire, and the editor was wounded. According to Mr. Pfaender, he escaped to a strawstack and died there when that in turn was burned.

The Mankato Record made this further brief reference to the death of the Pioneer editor. It said: "Otto Barth, editor of the New Ulm Pioneer, died on Tuesday, August 26th, from the effects of burns. He was in a stable that was fired by the Indians."

THE ST. CLOUD VISITOR

was the seventieth newspaper issued in Minnesota. As far as known, no copies of the Visitor are in existence. The History of Stearns County fixes its beginning on December 10th, 1857; but as number nine of the issue was disastrously begun March 27th, 1858, the first issue must have been made some time in the latter part of January, 1858. I have therefore placed its date at January 23rd, 1858, which will allow a lapse of one week, such as most of the early papers needed in getting started.

Jane G. Swisshelm was editress of the Visitor, and James Mowatt its publisher. Mrs. Swisshelm was an unrelenting, untactful champion of woman's rights and antislavery, and she wielded the tomahawk and scalping knife editorially with savage ferocity.

General Sam Lowrie, a southern man, and a pronounced proslavery Democrat, was, at the time, the "big man" of the upper Mississippi valley. Lowrie waited upon Mrs. Swisshelm soon after her arrival, and, with all the suavity of a southern gentleman, tendered his earnest support of the Visitor, provided she would support the Buchanan administration. Mrs. Swisshelm had been posted about Lowrie and was ready for him. She responded in a ladylike way that she would willingly support the administration of President Buchanan, if she could be allowed to do it in her way. This satisfied Gen. Lowrie, and they parted with mutual expressions of esteem.

The Visitor came out soon after, with the Buchanan support given in such a satirical, ironical way, that Lowrie and the other Democrats of St. Cloud were maddened and disgusted. They protested, of course. Mrs. Swisshelm replied that she had pledged her word, and that she intended "to support the Buchanan administration until it was sunk into everlasting infamy."

That stirred things from the bottom. J. C. Shepley, an attorney and prominent Democrat of St. Cloud, delivered a lecture soon after, in which he severely denounced woman's rights women. It also contained a number of very offensive allusions that Mrs. Swisshelm considered personal. She replied with allusions quite as personal, and directed largely, as Shepley claimed, at his wife. A midnight raid upon the office of the Visitor followed. On the 28th of March, 1858, after the outside of No. 9 of the Visitor had been worked off, the press was taken apart, broken, and a considerable portion of it, with the type, thrown into the river. A note reading as follows was left in the office: "If you ever again attempt to publish a paper in St. Cloud, you yourself will be as summarily dealt with as your office has been." This note was signed "Vigilante."

The friends of Mrs. Swisshelm were in turn enraged. A public meeting was called, Mrs. Swisshelm dictated her will to Judge McKelvy, and made Miles Brown, a dead shot with a revolver, agree to stand near her, and if she fell into the hands of the mob to shoot her through the head. She then went to the meeting at the Stearns House, and, with Brown standing near, named General Lowrie and two other men as the ones who destroyed the Visitor office. Armed men stood at the doors and

around Mrs. Swisshelm as she spoke. The mob yelled, stoned the house, and fired guns, but did not molest Mrs. Swisshelm personally.

T. H. Barrett, who the year previous had helped me put up the first house east of the Red river in the valley between Breckenridge and Pembina, and who fought the last battle of the Rebellion at the head of his negro troops in Texas ten days after Lee's surrender, was chairman of the committee on resolutions. They were very warmly written. A printing company of forty men was then formed, an agent went to Chicago to buy press and type, and, on May 13th, 1858, No. 9 of the Visitor was finally printed and issued.

From May 13th, 1858, the date of reissue after the destruction of her press, until July 29th, the Visitor was continued. Then a libel suit, with damages fixed at $10,000, combined with other difficulties that surrounded Mrs. Swisshelm, caused the death of the Visitor. Finally, the press and material were virtually contributed by the people who owned it, Mrs. Swisshelm regained possession, and, in August, 1858, she began the St. Cloud Democrat. In June, 1863, W. B. Mitchell bought the Democrat plant, and in September, 1866, changed its name to the St. Cloud Journal.

JANE GREY SWISSHELM.

Jane G. Swisshelm was born December 6th, 1815. Her grandmother, Jane Grey, was a lineal descendant of Lady Jane Grey. She met her husband, James Swisshelm, at a quilting bee dance in Pennsylvania, when she was nineteen, and was married before she was twenty-one. She preferred a literary career: he wanted to keep her in the kitchen. Frequent quarrels resulted. In 1840 she left him, but was afterward reconciled. Finally she left him for good, and a divorce followed. Her parting from Mr. Swisshelm when she started for Minnesota, May 27th, 1857, is pathetically described in her book, "Half a Century," as follows: "My husband, mine no more, came upon the boat while she lay at the wharf, held baby on his knee and wept over her. When the last bell rang, he bade me goodbye; carried her to the gangway, held her to the last moment, then placed her in my arms, sprang ashore and hurried up the wharf."

Mrs. Swisshelm began her journalistic career in 1842, when twenty-seven years old. She wrote woman's rights and antislavery articles for the Spirit of Liberty at Pittsburg, and when that paper died she wrote for the Pittsburg Commercial Journal, a Whig paper of that city. She was also a frequent contributor to Dr. Bailey's paper, the New Era, of Washington. In 1848 she began a paper of her own in Pittsburg, named the Sunday Visitor. This was also devoted to woman's rights and antislavery. In 1850 she became a staff correspondent of the New York Tribune; and in 1857 she came to Minnesota and began the publication of the St. Cloud Visitor, as before stated.

After leaving St. Cloud, she became a hospital nurse in the Union army. She died, a recluse, in a log cabin at Swissvale, Pa.; and her husband followed her three years after, from the old farm within sight of the little cabin in which Mrs. Swisshelm closed her erratic life.

THE WINONA TIMES.

The Times, of Winona, was the seventy-first weekly newspaper established in Minnesota Territory. It was a four-page, seven-column, Democratic sheet, and its first issue was dated January 30th, 1858. J. Ketchum Averill was the proprietor, and Averill and Sam Whiting were the editors.

July 17th, 1858, Whiting abandoned the enterprise, and, as that is the last of it in the Historical Library, it must have died at that time, or soon after. That date is as far as I have been able to trace it. The Times was started with the material of the Winona Argus. The Argus began in December, 1854, and died in the fall of 1857.

THE MINNEAPOLIS GAZETTE.

Upon the death of the Northwestern Democrat in the fall of 1857, its press and type passed into the hands of Joel B. Bassett. February 2nd, 1858, W. F. Russell, of the Shakopee Advocate, purchased the remains and began the Minneapolis Gazette, with Alexander B. Russell as editor. The paper ran only a few months, when the chilly financial weather following 1857 killed it, and the material went back to Bassett. The Gazette was a

four-page, eight-column, Republican sheet, and was the seventy-second journalistic venture in Minnesota.

In September, 1858, what was left of the Gazette was re-sold to C. H. Pettit and John G. Williams, who started the Minneapolis Journal. The Journal in turn was absorbed by William S. King, May 28th, 1859, when he started the Atlas. The Atlas ran until 1867, when it went into the Minneapolis Tribune, which is still running.

THE ROCHESTER FREE PRESS

was the seventy-third newspaper printed in Minnesota Territory. It was a four-page, seven-column, Republican paper. Its first issue must have been dated February 3rd, 1858, as No. 7 of Volume 1 is in the Historical Library, and dated March 17th, 1858. M. L. Stewart and J. H. Hyatt appear as the publishers in that issue of March 17th, 1858, and they were probably the starters of the paper. The History of Olmsted County claims that these men bought the material of the defunct Olmsted County Journal, with which to begin the Free Press, but the author places the date of purchase in the winter of 1858, while the files talk as above stated. The St. Paul Pioneer of November 19th, 1857, announces the suspension of the Journal on account of the financial failures following the downfall of the Ohio Life and Trust Company. I find it stated in another place, however, that the Journal caught its second wind and resumed, and that it did not die until June, 1859, when the Free Press under Fred A. Soule absorbed it.

Be this as it may, the files say that on March 31st, 1858, Soule became editor of the Free Press, and that on August 18th, 1858, Stewart and Hyatt retired and J. R. Drew became publisher. April 14th, 1859, N. B. Robbins, a promising young man, became associated with Soule as editor, but on the first of July following, Robbins was drowned. July 16th, 1859, M. L. Stewart again appeared as publisher. August 20th, 1859, is the last number in the Historical Library. The paper was discontinued about this time, and the Rochester Post succeeded it November 5th, 1859, and was followed by the Rochester News under Blaisdell of the Wasioja Gazette the week after the first number of the Post was issued. Blaisdell, it seemed, brought the Gazette

plant down to Rochester, to fill the vacancy left by the Free Press, but Blakeley got in with his Post ahead of him.

THE SHAKOPEE REPORTER

was the seventy-fourth newspaper venture in Minnesota. It was started some time in the latter part of March, 1858, as I find that the St. Paul Advertiser of March 27th, 1858, announces its advent. Milton M. Pearce, who a short time before had sold the Traverse des Sioux Reporter to James J. Green, as has already been stated, was the starter of the Shakopee Reporter. I find it quoted by the Glencoe Register, in its issue of June 12th, 1858, and that seems to have been about the last of it.

THE NORTHFIELD JOURNAL

was the seventy-fifth weekly newspaper started in Minnesota Territory. Capt. R. A. Hoag and his brother were the owners. The material came from Cannon Falls, Goodhue county, where it had been used to print the Cannon Falls Gazette. It was moved from Northfield to Rochester in the early sixties and combined with one of the papers there. The Journal was published in Northfield about three years, and I believe it was the first paper printed in that place.

THE HASTINGS DAILY LEDGER.

As Minnesota became a state on May 11th, 1858, this series of papers will close with the record of the Hastings Daily Ledger, the seventh daily paper in the Territory. It was published in Hastings, and the first number was issued May 10th, 1858. Four pages of five columns each was its size; and, being in Dakota county, it was of course Democratic. It ran a year; then the Hastings Weekly Ledger took its place, and about the following October that paper died. The Hastings Weekly Ledger was the seventy-sixth and last weekly newspaper established in the Territory.

THE FINAL RESULT.

Of the seventy-six weekly newspapers started in Territorial times, only seven are now living. These are the St. Paul Pioneer,

now the Pioneer Press; the Winona Republican; the Deutsche Zeitung, now the Volkszeitung; Mantorville Express; Red Wing Republican; Wabasha Herald; and Chatfield Democrat, now the News Democrat. Of the seven dailies, only one, the St. Paul Pioneer, now the Pioneer Press, lives. Three of the six weeklies, the Red Wing Republican, the Wabasha Herald, and the Chatfield Democrat, were started in September, 1857; and, so far as I can learn, they each went through that trying financial storm without missing a number.

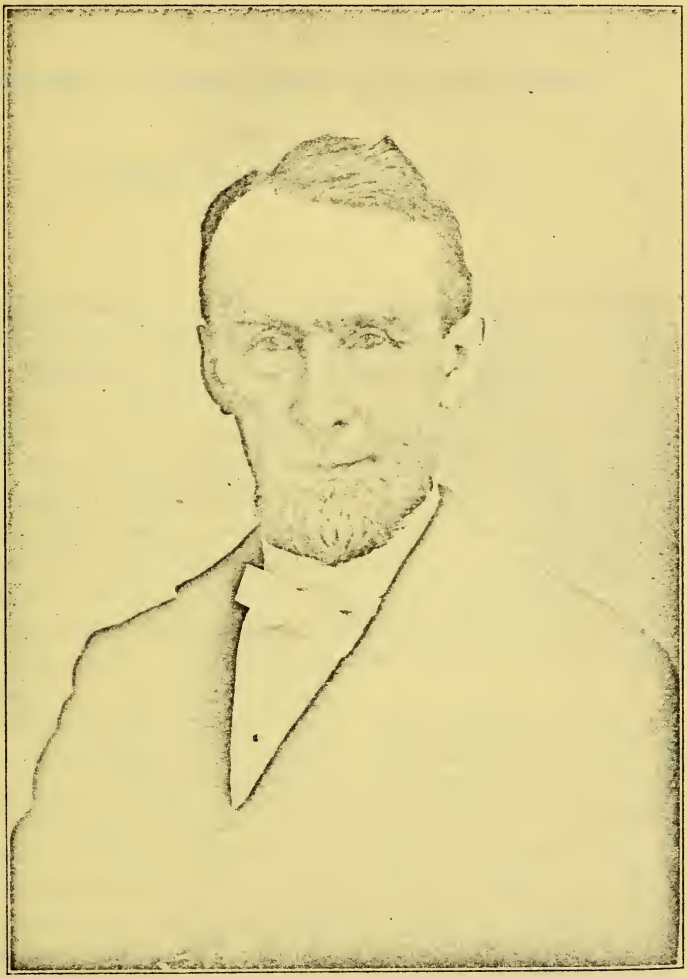
I have received protests from the present editors of the Freeborn County Standard and Glencoe Register, against excluding them from the above list of surviving Territorial newspapers. The facts regarding these papers are given in the fourth paper of this series. Under the head of the Southern Minnesota Star, I prove that the Star died and was succeeded by the Freeborn County Eagle, with new volume and number. The Eagle then died and the Standard was begun, starting also with Volume 1, No. 1.

The Glencoe Register died, and Colonel Stevens, its founder, so announced its termination. Then the Glencoe Register No. 2 was started at Volume 1, No. 1, by James C. Edson; as the Eagle was started by Swineford after the death of the Star, and the Standard by Ruble and Hooker after the death of the Eagle.

Tearing down a house named the Star, and erecting, on new foundations, a new house named the Eagle, and then tearing down the Eagle, and erecting the Standard on other new foundations, does not date the Standard back to either Star or Eagle time, though some of the same material and men were in each. The St. Anthony Express was a Territorial newspaper. It died in 1861, and the press was used to start the Shakopee Argus; but no one has ever claimed that the Argus became a Territorial newspaper on that account. Had the Star become the Star-Eagle, and that in turn the Standard-Star, and the volume and number been continuous from the first number of the Star, the Territorial line of succession would have been complete. As it is, the line was broken twice, and each time intentionally, and for that reason I must deny that the Standard had Territorial succession; as, under like conditions, I have been compelled to shut out the Glencoe Register and the Stillwater Messenger.

I believe that I cannot close this record of the Territorial Journalism of Minnesota in any better way than by copying the following graphic pen picture drawn by J. A. Wheelock, now editor-in-chief of the Pioneer Press and the Nestor of Minnesota Journalism. I quote from the Minnesota Advertiser, the first Minnesota newspaper that Wheelock edited. The date is March 13th, 1858. Speaking of the Journalism of the early fifties, he said:

The journalism of that day, inspired by Goodhue, mirrored the rough time exactly. Even its contentious rivalries were but the coquetries of an exuberant good-nature that lay at bottom. The entire intellectual life of the day ran through the Pioneer and the valetudinarian Chronicle and its successors. The Chronicle, in its weak vicissitudes, was the necessary correlative of the Pioneer—not exactly the Judy to his Punch—but equally essential to the dialogue and the sport. Who shall number the victims of the giant's gambols? There was the venerable Nat, who sought ignoble shelter among the Sioux;—there was Charley, his promise broken on the merciless wheel of his enemy's sarcasm;—the mercurial Smith, of undefined perquisites, model of all future Secretaries, driven mad by *bon-mots* into a shameful banishment;—and the stately Wakefield, grand with conscious authorship, patient of publication, lashed upon a Pegasus of his own choosing, and sent back, horsed like Mazeppa, into the desert. Memories throng upon us of coarse, genial souls and rough dressed characters, knit together in a jolly, hazy, idle life of whiskey and tobacco.



D. L. Kiehle

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MINNESOTA.*

BY PROF. DAVID L. KIEHLE, LL.D.

Mr. President and Members of the Minnesota Historical Society: Permit me to introduce this survey of the history of education in Minnesota with a recognition of the obligations of the citizens of our state to this society for its preservation of a knowledge of the many and diverse elements that have entered into our developing industries and institutions,—ideas, experiments, incentives, together with the lives and labors of its people. Civilization, like Nature itself, has the power of so utterly assimilating the forms and forces that have made it, that the individual elements lose their identity, leaving no record behind. It is only by the careful and intelligent offices of a society like this that these passing views, these dissolving elements, can be preserved for the future student and historian.

In submitting this address on the early planting of our institutions of learning, it is especially gratifying that it may be in the presence of the venerable and honored president of this society, Ex-Governor Ramsey, who, in his public and private capacity, has rendered invaluable aid by his wise counsel in the erection of this noble structure, and of which he might with modesty say, with the traditional founder of the old Roman state, "Quorum pars magna fui." We congratulate our respected fellow citizen that it is his privilege to witness the magnificence and the beneficence of this superstructure of education, the corner stone of which he helped to lay in those troublous times.

*An address at the Annual Meeting of this Society, January 19, 1903. For a more extended treatment of this subject, see Professor Kiehle's book, "Education in Minnesota," (Parts I and II, pages 120 and 101), published after the delivery of this address, in the late part of 1903, by the H. W. Wilson Company, Minneapolis.

THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

The planting and fostering of a system of education in a new state is the most far-reaching event in its history. The pioneers who did this service stand as the representatives of the world's civilization at its high water mark. These men and women of that early day brought with them the courage and endurance necessary to face the hardships and dangers of unsubdued nature in climate, land, and flood, as still held by aboriginal savage life. They opened up highways of travel, built towns and factories, and, more than all, they brought in their own characters and ideals the best of modern life in homes, churches, and schools.

The spirit of our modern civilization was active in education before the state as an institution had organic form, and long before the elements were at hand for the organization of a state system. When Minnesota became a territory in 1849, there were but three centers of civil and social life so far developed as to furnish starting points for schools, namely, Stillwater, St. Paul, and St. Anthony. At these points were elementary private schools, taught by Miss Horsford (Mrs. H. L. Moss) at Stillwater, Miss Backus at St. Anthony, and Miss Bishop and Miss Scofield at St. Paul.

Two years before, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, a pioneer missionary to the Indians, in the catholicity of his spirit, considered the higher interests of the white people of St. Paul, wrote to Ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, president of the National Popular Education Society, representing that in this village there were some thirty-six children of school age, and requested that a teacher be sent them. In response to this appeal Miss Harriet E. Bishop came. She has described her schoolhouse as a little log hovel, some 10 by 12 feet in size, covered with bark and chinked with mud, and previously used as a blacksmith shop. On the sides, pegs were driven into the logs, and upon them boards were laid for seats. This log schoolhouse was located on St. Anthony street (now Third street), at the corner of St. Peter street, on the later site of the First Presbyterian Church. It is also memorable in being the place where the first public school meeting was held in November, 1849, soon after the organization of the territory.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Inasmuch as the earliest educational influences were represented in the missionary spirit of individuals and Christian denominations, this seems to be the place to recognize the continued enterprise of these high-minded men and women down to the present day. Their work has not been superseded by the more comprehensive plan of the state that followed. With the specific aims of providing an educated laity and ministry, they established schools of higher learning for all who would avail themselves of these advantages.

In 1853 the Baldwin school in St. Paul, open to both sexes, was incorporated by the Presbyterians, and in the following year Baldwin College was opened to young men. But the sparsely settled condition of the country, the unorganized condition of society, accompanied by the financial stress of 1857, and followed by the civil war of 1861-65, arrested all educational enterprises, so that we must look for their continued history in the years following. In 1874 through a bequest of Charles Macalester of Philadelphia the name of Baldwin College was changed to Macalester College, and it was permanently located with buildings for instruction and residences for professors on its present campus of thirty acres in St. Paul, where it is now doing excellent work under the presidency of Rev. James Wallace, Ph.D.

It is deserving of record that the founding of this college was chiefly due to the laborious efforts of Rev. Edward D. Neill, D.D., the pioneer missionary and educator who came to this state in 1849. He was not only the servant of his own denomination, but, as a public spirited citizen and cultivated scholar, he was identified with the civil life of the state, and was one of the influential leaders in developing its educational system, as we shall have occasion to notice further on.

The Methodist denomination moved early in establishing Hamline University in 1854, formally opened to men and women in 1857. It was located at Red Wing, which "in 1849 had a population of 305,—300 being Sioux Indians, and the five being two missionaries, with the wife and child of one, and the government farmer." "In all, between the years 1857 and 1869, the university graduated 14 women and 9 men."

Hamline University, after a struggling career of many

years, owing to conditions already noted, dates its new and prosperous history after its removal to its present location between the Twin Cities in 1869, and its re-opening in 1880 as a collegiate institution under the presidency of Rev. D. C. John, D.D. (1880-1883), and, since 1883, of Rev. George H. Bridgman, LL.D., its present administrative officer and president.

The Bishop Seabury Mission, chartered in 1860, includes the system of academic and divinity schools located at Faribault. These stand as a monument to the enterprise and philanthropy of the Episcopal Church.

The ending of the Civil War and the established union of the divided states mark the beginning of the larger industrial and educational prosperity of the state. Every religious denomination has been active in contributing its influence to the upbuilding of the state in intelligence and morality.

At Northfield, in 1867, was founded, by the Congregationalists, the preparatory department of what in 1870 took permanent form in the opening of Carleton College under the presidency of Rev. James W. Strong, LL.D., who has just closed his long and successful administration.

In 1857 St. John's College was founded by the Order of St. Benedict and located at St. Cloud. In 1867 it was removed to its present site in Collegeville; and in 1883 it became St. John's University.

Following the sixties the religious and educational spirit of the state, Protestant and Catholic, multiplied schools and academies in all parts of the state, thus making the best possible provision for the elementary and higher instruction of our youth in the absence of the more comprehensive system which the state has since provided.

Appended, will be found a list of the secondary and higher institutions now established and supported by private benefactions and religious associations of loyal citizens of the state, who in addition bear their full share in support of our public schools.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

The noticeable characteristic of our own, as of all educational history, is in this, that provision is first made for the higher edu-

cation and leadership of those who control and give direction to the industrial life. If society has an intelligent, virtuous and philanthropic leadership in a few good men and women, the masses will follow and obey in confidence. For this reason the university movement in territorial days was a more engrossing subject than the public schools. However, all elements of the system were in view from the first, as we shall see.

The history of education in Minnesota belongs to a second great chapter of our nation's history, which dates from the Ordinance of 1787, when the old states of New England, New York, and Virginia ceded their claims to territory in the Northwest to the general government, and when this new empire of the great west began its history, established on the "trinity of principles, free labor, free religion, and free education." At that time the Government set apart one-thirty-sixth of the public domain—section sixteen of each township—for the support of common schools. In 1848, upon the organization of the Territory of Oregon, the national grant to common schools was increased to two sections in each township, section thirty-six being added.

The first Legislature of the Territory of Minnesota convened September 3, 1849. Its Governor, the Honorable Alexander Ramsey, in his message presented the interests of education in these words. "The subject of education, which has ever been esteemed of the first importance, especially in all new American communities, deserves, and I doubt not will receive, your earliest and most devoted care. From the pressure of other and more immediate wants, it is not to be expected that your school system should be very ample; yet it is desirable that whatever is done should be of a character that will readily adapt itself to the growth and increase of the country, and not in future years require a violent change of system."

The territorial school code made provision for (1) The appointment of a Superintendent of Public Instruction,—Edward D. Neill being the first, and at the same salary as the Treasurer and Auditor, $100 per annum; (2) The division of the township into districts, whenever the district contains ten or more families; (3) The levy of a county tax of two and a half mills for the support of schools, to which was added fifteen per cent of all liquor licenses and fines for criminal offenses.

The first report of Superintendent Neill, for the year 1851, gives eight districts in Ramsey county, with three school houses valued at $1600, and four districts in Washington county, but with no school houses.

For the permanent organization of our common school system we must pass on to the organization of the state government and the adoption of the Constitution. The record of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, which began its sessions July 13, 1857, gives us a view of interesting problems that were then considered and adjusted.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOL FUNDS.

Prominent was the question whether, inasmuch as the public lands were designated as the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections of each township, the revenue accruing should not be administered by township authorities for the support of the schools of the township in which the lands were located. The wise conclusion of the convention is incorporated in Article VIII, Sec. 2, of the State Constitution, in which it is provided that the public school lands are to be administered by the state for the scholars of the state, to be sold at public sale, and not more than one-third in two years, one-third in five years, and one-third in ten years, the most valuable lands to be sold first; and that the principal shall constitute an inviolate permanent fund, the income from which shall be distributed according to the number of scholars between the ages of five and twenty-one years.

In his message to the legislature of 1861, Governor Ramsey gave to no other subject so large a place, nor so serious a discussion, as to that of popular education, especially in regard to the wisest management of the school lands donated by the general government. He called attention to the generous grant, which was double that made to states admitted previous to 1849. In the face of pressing emergencies demanding immediate relief, and of speculators who sought control of large tracts of land at nominal prices, Governor Ramsey reminded the legislature that these lands were to be administered "with a view to the permanent interests of the school fund. It is only," the Governor insisted, "by adhering to this as a fundamental principle of legislation, by

regarding the school lands, not as a temporary source of relief from present burdens, but as a provision for the permanent interests of education, that we can rightly discharge the sacred obligations to posterity which this trust imposes upon us, or fitly respond to the elevated and paternal policy of the general government." He warned against the policy adopted by Wisconsin and Iowa, where the minimum appraisal was one dollar and a quarter an acre, "under which their splendid grants have become the prey of speculators." The policy advocated by the governor was to avoid the extremes of too high and too low valuation. Another recommendation of the governor, which was also adopted, was that a small part of the price should be required at the time of purchase, and that the balance should be on long time at a reasonable interest. Without doubt, no public interest to which the administration of Governor Ramsey was related has reflected greater honor upon him, or will stand as a nobler monument of his wise and disinterested service.

This conservative spirit of the convention and of the governor of the state was expressed by subsequent legislation, in 1862, prohibiting the sale of school lands for less than five dollars an acre; and in 1875, by an amendment of the constitution, providing for the safe investment of school funds in bonds of the State of Minnesota and of the United States. In 1896 an additional amendment provided for the investment of school funds in bonds of counties, school districts, cities, towns and villages of the state to a very limited amount under the direction and with the approval of a designated board of commissioners.

The history of the common school fund of Minnesota bears a most honorable testimony to the business sagacity and the conscientious faithfulness of the officers of the state who have been charged with its administration. The table appended shows the increase of this fund by five-year intervals to the present, when it amounts to $14,316,389.

STATE AID TO EDUCATION.

A vital principle in public education was involved in this act of the Constitutional Convention, which extended far beyond the mere method of administrating public funds, namely this:

Shall the children be treated as wards of the township and county, or shall they be recognized as wards of the state? And shall responsibility for their education be left with the township, or with the state?

In deciding that national grants were given to the state for the children of the state, the convention impliedly affirmed that the state must assume its share of responsibility, not only in requiring townships to support their schools, but also in contributing to the support of the schools over which they have control.

This principle was long in receiving substantial recognition in state financial support of the common schools. The county two and a half mill tax, which had been levied and apportioned by counties "in proportion to persons between 4 and 21 years of age," had been changed in 1877 to what was substantially a compulsory district one mill tax; and yet by some this was called a state mill tax.

In his report to the legislature of 1879 State Superintendent Burt exposed the fallacy of this view, and urged with great force the reasonableness and importance of state support for common schools. But it was not till 1887 that upon the re-presentation of the pressing importance of this matter by State Superintendent Kiehle, the principle was recognized, and a state one mill tax was levied for the support of common schools.

SPECIAL RURAL AND SEMI-GRADED SCHOOLS.

As we have noted the beginning of state aid to common schools, it seems best to complete the history of this movement of state aid down to the present, and to show how large a place it has had in promoting education in the rural districts.

The next step in progress was to offer special aid to districts, affording additional advantages for the education of their children in long terms, better prepared teachers, and better equipped school buildings. These schools, according to their advancement, were classified as rural, semi-graded, and graded schools, and state high schools. These schools are placed under special supervision, and are afforded aid ranging from $125 to $1,500 each.

This generous aid of the state has proven a marvelous stimulus to education. The amounts given have encouraged districts

to make corresponding expenditures in schoolhouses and equipment, and instead of making the people dependent upon the state they have grown ambitious to do more for themselves.

LIBRARIES.

In the year 1885 the legislature passed the library law, which provided that districts which make suitable provision for the care of their libraries and make purchases of books from the authorized list, shall receive one-half the amount expended up to ten dollars for the first statement, and five dollars for each subsequent statement, these statements being made annually. In 1895 this allowance was doubled.

By the aid of this appropriation rural and village schools, many of which had no books but their ordinary text books, have been supplied with the world's choicest literature, in books of biography, travel, geography and history, which make the school life and study a delight and intellectual growth.

STATE SUPERVISION OF EDUCATION.

The State of Minnesota was led in the building up of its educational system by a man who brought with him the classical culture of the east, and a broad view of the moral and intellectual demands of an American civilization. Edward D. Neill was the first territorial superintendent, the first chancellor of the University of Minnesota, and the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in which office he served from April 1, 1860, to May 1, 1861. In his first report (1860) he made the following recommendations:

1. Provision should be made for county superintendents of schools. The township plan of supervision had proven utterly inadequate.

2. The civil township should be made the unit of district organization.

It is noteworthy that, having adhered to the neighborhood plan of small districts, we are now trying to remedy the evils of small districts by some plan of combining districts and transporting pupils.

3. The school fund should be distributed according to scholars in attendance, and not according to a census of persons of school age.

This recommendation was adopted some twenty-five years later.

4. A uniform series of text books should be provided for the state.

5. Districts should be aided in obtaining school libraries at wholesale rates.

Following Dr. Neill, B. F. Crary was appointed and served from May 1, 1861, to July 1, 1862. In the year 1862 the legislature abolished the office, and assigned its duties to the Secretary of State. Under this law David Blakeley and Henry C. Rogers served until April 1, 1867, at which time the office was re-established and Mark H. Dunnell was appointed. He continued to serve under re-appointment till his resignation, August 1, 1870.

Mr. Dunnell immediately undertook the more complete organization of schools by a revision of school registers and the preparation of a complete set of blanks for the use of teachers and school officers. He appointed and held meetings with school superintendents, which greatly increased popular interest in education. He organized teachers' institutes for the rural school teachers; and by his personal attention to them, and by his popular addresses, he made them powerful for good.

The resignation of Mr. Dunnell was followed by the appointment of Horace B. Wilson, who served till the expiration of his third term, April, 1875. Mr. Wilson brought to the office the scholarship of a professor of mathematics and the practical experience of a county superintendent of schools. His service to the state was felt in the enlarged powers and increased duties of his office conferred by the legislature upon his recommendation. Mr. Wilson made five reports, which are of permanent value for the able discussions they contain of the leading topics of school administration.

David Burt succeeded to the office April 5, 1875, and continued until his resignation September 1, 1881, a few weeks before his decease, which occurred September 24th. He came to the office from a county superintendency, and for over six years

diligently fostered every department of the educational system. He was a man of penetrating and clear intelligence, able to compass the whole system in its purpose and plan, and equally able to appreciate all details in applications of principles. He urged and secured the enactment of the law appropriating school funds according to the number of scholars attending school. He made a vigorous but unsuccessful opposition to what has been known as the state text book law, which provided for the selection of a series of books and a fifteen year contract for their supply to the schools of the state. The reports of Superintendent Burt contain much valuable material, the result of careful research and arrangement.

Succeeding Superintendent Burt came David L. Kiehle, the principal of the State Normal School at St. Cloud and previously county superintendent of schools. He served in seven successive terms from September 1, 1881, to September 1, 1893. It was his fortune to assume the duties of the office just as the state was maturing into social and financial power, and prepared to continue the organization so well established in previous administrations. Taking the work as it came to him, the following are the more important measures adopted as parts of the school system during his administration:

1. The more complete organization of institute instruction, by which, with an increase of the state appropriation from $3,000 to $7,000, and with a special conductor provided by each of the normal schools, each county of the state has been provided with an institute annually.

2. A State tax of one mill was established, which increased the school fund annually appropriated to about $1,000,000.

3. A public school library fund was established, which provided (1) for the selection of a choice list of books by a special commission consisting of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the presidents of the four state normal schools; (2) a payment by the state, up to $20, of one-half of the first order for books selected by a district, up to $10 of one-half of the second order, and up to $5 of one-half of any subsequent order; and (3) an annual appropriation of $10,000 to meet the requirements of the law.

4. A system of summer training schools of four weeks each, with a present annual appropriation of $20,000.

5. The reorganization of the state high school system, and the appointment of a high school inspector, as explained elsewhere, by which free secondary tuition is now provided in 141 State high schools, preparatory to the university and the professional schools.

6. As regent of the university he formulated the plan for the School of Agriculture, which has developed to its present proportions on lines then laid out.

Upon the resignation of Superintendent Kiehle, William W. Pendergast, former Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction, and at this time principal of the School of Agriculture, was appointed and continued in service till January 21, 1899. Superintendent Pendergast brought to the office the mature experience of a teacher, a county superintendent, and an officer of the department; and he discharged the duties of the office with efficiency and wisdom.

From January 21, 1899, to January 25, 1901, John H. Lewis was appointed and discharged the duties of the office. A teacher and city superintendent of schools of long experience, Superintendent Lewis administered the office with marked energy and success. Upon his recommendation the present system of state examination of teachers was established by statute and put into successful operation, and the entire system was given a new impulse.

Upon the completion of Superintendent Lewis's term, John W. Olsen was appointed and has now entered upon his second term of service. His record as a successful county superintendent of schools has commended him to the confidence of the public and is the guarantee of a faithful administration.

COUNTY SUPERVISION.

By the statute of 1851 the trustees were required to examine and license teachers before employing them to teach in the schools.

By the statute of 1862 the county commissioners were required to appoint one man in each commissioner district to visit the schools, and to examine and license teachers. The same law provided that in their discretion they might appoint one man for a whole county to discharge these duties.

In 1877 the law was amended, making the office elective, and that for all counties. It also fixed the minimum salary at ten dollars for each district superintended. The law has from time to time been further amended to provide for assistance, printing and office expenses.

The history of this office has been one of unrest and dissatisfaction on the part of the superintendents, because of the heavy responsibilities laid upon them, and the slow progress which the rural schools are making in introducing the better conditions of school architecture, support of teachers, and grading of the schools.

IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS.

The aid afforded by the state in the improvement of the common schools is by no means exhausted with the payment of salaries and furnishing libraries. It has given generously for the improvement of the teachers themselves.

Beginning with the present law (1867), re-establishing the state superintendency of schools, provision was made for a system of state institutes under the direction of Superintendent Mark H. Dunnell, with an appropriation of $3,000. By the aid of this fund teachers have annually been called together in the counties of the state and instructed in whatever seemed helpful in the organization and instruction of their schools.

The early stage of this work was in short institutes of a few days, and generally extended to a week. In 1891 the appropriation was increased to $12,000, in order to provide for summer schools for teachers, in which more systematic academic and professional instruction should be given for a longer term of not less than four weeks. During the first season fourteen schools were held, with an aggregate enrollment of 1,210.

In the second season (1892), the university summer school for both elementary and advanced work, and for the improvement of teachers in both graded and high schools, was opened, and it has been continued to the present time. In 1901 the term of this school was increased to six weeks. The first enrollment was 741, and it has steadily increased to 1,107 in 1902.

The annual appropriation for institutes and summer schools has been increased to $27,000.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

But the crowning support of the state for the improvement of its common schools has been in the recognition of teaching as a profession, and in requiring the special training of teachers. The normal schools were the result of this movement.

The revival of common school education dates from the services of Horace Mann, who, as secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts (1837) gave his splendid talent and great enthusiasm to the improvement of the schools of the people. The period from 1830 to 1870 may be considered the revival period of popular education. Although the common school had been planted, and the principle acknowledged, the real interest even in common schools had positively declined. It is one thing to recognize in reason a principle or doctrine, but quite a different thing to incorporate it into the life and habits of a people. It was so in the organization of our government, and was equally true of our school system. This lethargy concerning public schools was not because of indifference to education, and does not signify that there were no good schools. On the contrary, the colleges and academies had increased in number and efficiency. In every town select schools, seminaries, and academies, were taught by young men graduated from the colleges. The result was that the better class of families were separated in their common associations and interests from the common people.

Yet the schools and colleges of higher education furnished the very men of broad vision and democratic spirit who became the wise friends and champions of popular education. They caught the idea from Germany, and under the leadership of men like Rev. Charles Brooks of Massachusetts, Horace Mann and Edmund Dwight, and with the moral support of statesmen, as Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adams, the normal schools were established in Massachusetts.

To Winona belongs the honor of giving first expression in Minnesota to this new movement for the improvement of our schools. In 1858 Dr. John D. Ford, through the legislative delegation from Winona county, secured the passage of the bill establishing three normal schools at Winona, Mankato and St. Cloud. Through the generous donations of its citizens the

first normal school was opened in the city of Winona on the first Monday in September, 1860, with Professor John Ogden of Columbus, Ohio, as its principal. "To the credit of this normal board and its secretary, Dr. Ford, it may be said that the first state tax for school purposes was authorized and levied upon their urgent recommendation."

In 1861 Professor Ogden resigned the principalship for the purpose of joining the Union Army. After another term, owing to the disturbed condition of the country, the school was suspended to be re-opened in 1864 under the principalship of Professor William F. Phelps, of New York, and recently of the State Normal School of New Jersey.

The first appropriation was of $3,000 for the first year, $4,000 for the second, and $5,000 annually thereafter.

The second normal school was opened in Mankato in October, 1868; and the third in St. Cloud in September, 1869. The fourth was opened in Moorhead in September, 1888, and the fifth in Duluth in September, 1902. These centers of training for teachers have had a continuous growth, and have exerted a powerful influence in the education of the state.

QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS.

The organization of any institution or system is only complete when provision is made for efficient service. Having furnished opportunities for a preparation to teach, the state has improved the means by which the public is able to make reasonable discrimination in the selection of teachers for their schools. The plan in its present form was recommended by State Superintendent John H. Lewis, and was enacted by the legislature of 1899. Its main features are these:

1. All examinations are held on the same days in the several counties of the state under the supervision of the respective county superintendents, upon questions prepared by the state department of public instruction, and under instructions fixed by that department.

2. All papers are forwarded to the state department, and are passed upon by a corps of examiners.

3. Certificates are graded as follows: First grade, good for five years; and second grade, good for two years. These are

issued only to persons who have satisfactory academic and professional preparation. Certificates of the first grade are valid in any county of the state; and those of the second grade are valid in the county in which the examination is held, and in any other county upon the endorsement of its county superintendent. The law also provides for local third grade certificates, good for a single year in a given district.

The statute of 1885 provides that the diplomas of the state normal schools shall be valid as certificates of the first grade for two years, and that upon satisfactory evidence of success in teaching as given by the endorsement of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the president of the normal school issuing the diploma, that of the elementary course shall be valid as a state certificate for five years, and that of the advanced course shall be a permanent certificate of qualification.

This survey of our common school system, including the appended tables, completes the financial and educational history of this first part of the entire system.

HIGHER EDUCATION.

We now come to the history of secondary and higher education as embodied in our state university and high schools. The development of state universities is a democratic movement in which the people control the organization of higher education in their own interests. It has three phases: 1. The financial support provided by the people; 2. The adaptation of the curriculum to the needs of the people; and 3. The articulation of higher education with elementary education in the development of high schools of secondary education. These will give us the order of our treatment.

We recognize at the outset that the great men of our republic, who laid the foundations of our government and outlined with quite prophetic vision the order of our western civilization, made generous provision for the education of the people. In 1851 upon recommendation of Governor Ramsey, the legislature memorialized Congress for a grant of 100,000 acres of public lands for the endowment of a university. The same year Congress appropriated two townships (46,080 acres) for the support

of a university in the Territory of Minnesota. Next, in the act of Congress passed February 26, 1857, authorizing a state government, it was provided "that seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart and reserved for the use and support of a state university." This was construed by the regents of the university as an additional grant to the state, and not a mere confirmation of the former territorial grant. However, the Commissioner of the General Land Office refused to take this view, and, after repeated presentations of their claim by the regents, the matter was finally settled by a congressional grant, July 8, 1870, "to the full amount of seventy-two sections mentioned in the act of Congress approved Feb. 26, 1857." Of the territorial grant, 36,560 acres had been selected, so making the total land grant to the state university 82,640 acres.

The history of the university, from the date of its establishment by the territorial legislature, in February, 1851, to that of its reorganization under its present charter of February 18, 1868, is one of continuous struggle against adverse circumstances, a premature organization under the stress of a frontier enthusiasm and hopefulness, which resulted in financial embarrassment and the suspension of the educational department.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

The first building was erected in Minneapolis on a site donated by Franklin Steele, near Central avenue, and near what is known as the Exposition Building. This was a two-story frame structure, 50 by 30 feet, and costing $2,500. With two rooms finished, a private school was opened by Rev. E. W. Merrill, to whom the regents gave the use of the building. Beginning with 25 students, it increased to 65. "In 1854 the building was transferred to other hands in a compromise regarding the title, which proved defective." Mr. Merrill was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the school was closed.

The site of the present campus was located in 1854 by the purchase of twenty-seven acres at a cost of $6,000. Private contributions were made to the amount of $1,000, and the remainder was secured by mortgage with interest at twelve per cent. In 1856 the legislature authorized the regents to issue bonds "to an

amount not exceeding the sum of $15,000 with interest thereon not exceeding twelve per cent per annum, of said sum $5,000 to be applied in liquidation of a debt incurred in the purchase of a site for said university, and $10,000 to be expended under the direction of the board of regents in erecting suitable buildings for the same;" these bonds to be secured by mortgage on "any lands now belonging or which may hereafter belong to the said university." The regents with $10,000 in hand, by a bare majority vote, adopted plans for a fine four-story building, 277 feet in length, and let the contract for the erection of one wing, now the rear part of the present "Main building," for the sum of $49,000.

The financial crisis of 1857 proved fatal to this venture. To save what they had the legislature extended the authority of the regents to issue bonds for $40,000 in addition, to be likewise secured by mortgage on the lands of the university. In 1859 the building was completed at a cost of $65,000. For eight years it remained unused, and nothing seemed to prosper excepting the interest on the debt, a part of which was at twenty per cent.

In 1858 Rev. E. D. Neill was elected Chancellor, and about a year later he was made Superintendent of Public Instruction ex-officio, from which position he resigned in 1861 to enter the army.

By an act of the legislature, approved February 14, 1860, the university was reorganized. Under this act the board of regents was made to consist of the "Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Chancellor of the University, and five electors of the state, appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." It also provided for a "department for the training of teachers for the common schools of the state."

In their report to the governor, dated December 1, 1860, the regents made the following statement of the indebtedness of the university in amounts due:

Site	$ 4,833.34
Building	19,130.69
Bonds	59,511.70
J. G. Riheldaffer	117.70
Isaac Atwater (probably)	1,913.66
Accumulated interest	8,000.00
Total	$93,506.66

By act of legislature, approved March 8, 1862, the regents were "authorized and empowered in their discretion to arrange, compromise or liquidate any existing indebtedness," and "to grant, bargain, or sell and convey to the holder or holders of any such indebtedness, upon such terms as shall be agreed upon, any or all the lands heretofore granted or reserved by Congress for the use and support of a state or territorial university."

In 1864 a new board of regents was named, to wit, O. C. Merriman and John S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis, and John Nicols of St. Paul, for a term of two years. Each was required to give bonds in the sum of $25,000. The specific duties of the board were to adjust the indebtedness already referred to; and for this purpose they were authorized to make sales, not to exceed 12,000 acres, of the lands donated by the United States for university purposes.

To the financial ability and the disinterested services of the three men who constituted this new board, the state is indebted for the removal of the incubus of that great debt. Such services are so dependent upon quiet shrewdness, and upon personal influence that never comes to light, that no record can be made of the details of their labors. Suffice it to say, that as men prominent in affairs of politics and business, men held in highest esteem by their fellow citizens of the cities and the state in which they lived, and highly appreciative of the higher educational interests of the state, they gave the best they had in time and labor to the adjustment of these vexing claims.

This special mention of the names of Mr. Merriman and Mr. Nicols, associated with Mr. Pillsbury in this important service, is the more appropriate by reason of the fact that the continued service of Mr. Pillsbury in the interest of the university from that day to the day of his decease, in 1901, has made him so renowned, as the "Father of the University," that we are in danger of forgetting how in his earliest service, and at a time when prospects were darkest, these two men, Mr. Merriman and Mr. Nicols, stood with him, and divided with him the labor of extricating the university from its impending peril. In the day of our university's greatest prosperity, let the names of these three men be mentioned together as its financial saviors in the darkest day of its history. In a word, the indebtedness was finally cancelled with the proceeds of 15,000 acres, so leaving in the possession of

the university some 30,000 acres of selected lands of the territorial grant.

We now come to the threshold of a new era of substantial prosperity and development for the university.

JOHN S. PILLSBURY, REGENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

At this point it is fitting that we note, once for all, that this later history of the university cannot be written without making it likewise a history of Regent John S. Pillsbury. From 1863, the date of his first appointment as regent, he continued in that relation to the time of his decease. As private citizen, as state senator, and as governor (1876-'82), for thirty-eight long years the university was his constant care.

His financial ability was given to the management and increase of its revenues, in the selection of its public lands, and in the expenditure of its funds, from the purchase of the agricultural farm and the erection of buildings down to auditing the individual bills for current expenses. Whenever the university needed his credit, or an advance of his money to meet an exigency, without ostentation, he freely advanced it. Whenever a friend of the university, or a member of the faculty, or an undergraduate student, wished to consult him upon any matter that related to education in the university, his house was open and a welcome given. For the university he lived: he endured detraction in the most troublous times—and that is when calumniators are most active—he sacrificed leisure and comfort, and gave as a memento of his enduring interest one of the imposing halls that adorns the campus and now bears his name.

And, finally, those who received from him, and who loved to honor him, have erected their own testimonial to his memory in the statue of bronze that stands upon and adorns the campus, that it may bring to our memories the features that express the nobility of his character and the beneficence of his service to the university and to the state.

THE BEGINNINGS OF UNIVERSITY LIFE.

In his message to the second legislature (1851) Governor Ramsey recommended that a university be established; and by

act approved February 13, 1851, the University of Minnesota was established. The important provisions of this act were: (1) That a board of twelve regents be elected by the legislature for a term of six years; (2) That the university be located at or near the Falls of St. Anthony; (3) That the regents shall have control of all funds appropriated for the erection of buildings and other necessary equipment of the university, and also of all lands granted by Congress for the maintenance of higher education.

The first board of regents consisted of Isaac Atwater, J. B. Thurber, William R. Marshall, B. B. Meeker, Socrates Nelson, Henry M. Rice, Alexander Ramsey, Henry H. Sibley, C. K. Smith, Franklin Steele, N. C. D. Taylor, and Abraham Van Vorhes. Edward D. Ueill was elected Chancellor, and became ex-officio Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The succeeding years were years of struggle with the financial conditions of the university, as has been already noted, so that until the settlement of these difficulties in the payment of debts and in the increase of the government grants of 1862, and the added university grant of 1870, the university was practically without an educational history. With the encouragement of freedom from debt, with the general prosperity of the state, and with a state appropriation of $15,000—the first one by the state for the university—for repairs and furnishings for the building, a preparatory department was opened in October, 1867, with W. W. Washburn as principal, and Gabriel Campbell and Ira Moore, assistants. The report of the principal for the second year (1868) shows a faculty of five and an attendance of 100.

THE PRESIDENCY OF WILLIAM W. FOLWELL.

In 1869, Colonel William W. Folwell was elected to the presidency of the university. This year began with a faculty of nine, an enrollment of 217 in the preparatory department, and a freshmen class of thirteen, of whom two were graduated in 1873 with the B.A. degree.

The administration of President Folwell continued from 1869 to 1883, and as acting president to June, 1884, a term of fifteen years. In its academic history, this corresponds to the financial history of the university; it was a period of ferment and experiment, all tending toward permanent organization.

The general lack of preparatory schools made the instruction of the university largely preparatory, having three classes below the freshman year. The small collegiate enrollment and the poverty of the state required that professors teach in several lines at the same time, as that French was taught by the professor of chemistry, in addition to geology, mineralogy, botany, and physiology. The curriculum was mainly the traditional one of classical colleges, Greek, Latin, mathematics, and philosophy; history and the natural sciences held a subordinate rank.

The educational problems of those days were quite as pressing as those of the present, and in some cases occasioned personal feelings and antagonisms similar to those of the financial world. First, the question of co-education came up at the opening of the university under Principal Washburn. College traditions had always limited the privileges of higher education to men; and this view was represented by the new faculty in opposing the admission of women as students in the university. The regents were more responsive to the growing popular sentiment, and, overruling the judgment of the faculty, decided in favor of admitting women on equal footing with men.

The second stage of progress came under the administration of President Folwell, the articulation of the industrial sciences and departments with the college of science, literature, and the arts. The charter had provided for the establishing of "five or more colleges or departments, that is to say, a department of elementary instruction, a college of science, literature and the arts, a college of agriculture and the mechanic arts, including military tactics, a college or department of law, and also a college or department of medicine." The land grant already considered applied particularly to the college of science, literature, and the arts. For a "college of agriculture, including military tactics," a grant was made by Congress in 1862. To this we shall refer later.

THE PRESIDENCY OF CYRUS NORTHROP.

The administration of President Northrop opened in 1884, and has been continuous to the present time. It may be justly named the era of expansion. The lines of development had become defined. The personal antagonisms that arose from finan-

cial embarrassments and personal differences as to educational policy had disappeared. The state had become populous and wealthy, the system of preparatory instruction in high schools had become well developed, and the land grant endowment had become large and productive. The people felt strong and aspiring, and the regents sought the man who with a broad vision could comprehend the situation, could harmonize the active forces and give freedom of growth to each as the times demanded.

Such a man they found in Cyrus Northrop of New Haven. Under his wise administration the university has won the entire confidence of the public, has received the generous support of the legislature in greatly increased appropriations, and an increase in students in every department, from 310 in 1884, of whom a large part were in the preparatory department, to over 3,500 in all departments at the present time. During this time the several departments contemplated in the charter have been organized and developed. The accompanying tables will show the dates of organization and the annual enrollment.

THE SUPPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY

consists of (1) Income from United States land grants; (2) Government money appropriations; (3) The $^{23}/_{100}$ state mill tax; (4) Tuitions in the law and medical departments; and (5) Registration fees in the academic departments.

The land grants consist of the University grant which we have considered, and the Agricultural College land grant of 1862, appropriating 120,000 acres for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts. As we shall later refer to this grant and its history, it is sufficient to say that by an act of legislature approved February 18, 1868, the two grants were merged, and the fund accruing from the sale of the lands is now known as the Permanent University Fund.

For the further encouragement of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts, Congress by act approved August 3, 1890, made a standing appropriation for this and other states of $15,000 the first year, with an increase of $1,000 each succeeding year until it should reach the sum of $25,000, at which sum it should remain permanent.

The appropriations by the state have been for buildings, equipment, and current expenses. For the latter a standing appropriation of $^{15}/_{100}$ of a mill was voted in 1893, increased to $^{20}/_{100}$ in 1895, and to $^{23}/_{100}$ in 1897, upon the assessed valuation of the property of the state.

Table IV, accompanying this narrative, gives the aggregate amounts received from all sources for the support of the university, normal schools, and other state schools, as reported by the State Auditor.

BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

In 1884 there was but one of the present group of buildings on the campus—the Main building. Since that time nineteen new buildings have been added to the campus, and eighteen to the campus of the School of Agriculture and Experiment Station. The aggregate expenditure of the state for all the University buildings has been $1,450,642.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

We have already observed that a history of education is more than a record of the increase of its material resources in funds and buildings. These are the foundation and framework of a successful system; but the history itself, that in which all else finds its value, is in its adaptation to the developing life of the people. The ancient university and all its colleges belonged to an aristocratic civilization. The state university belongs to the people, and, accordingly, must be democratic. It must not only be great as the crown and ornament of the people's schools, but it must be greatest in service.

It has been the fortune of Minnesota to develop its institutions at a time when the great industrial problems of our modern civilization are pressing upon us, and our history must, therefore, be a contribution to their solution.

THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

By an act of the legislature approved March 10, 1858, a quantity of land in McLeod county was "set aside for the pur-

pose of an experimental farm and a site for an Agricultural College," to be "under the control of the President and Executive Committee of the State Agricultural Society." The Board of Education of the Agricultural College was to consist of twelve members, to be elected by the State Agricultural Society. In 1861 the legislature donated to this college all the "swamp lands" within the boundaries of McLeod county. The conditions of the times in financial stringency during the Indian war and the Civil war prevented all action under this law, and nothing was done until after the war, in 1866.

The Legislature on January 27, 1863, had accepted the Agricultural land grant from the United States, given by an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, to the several states for the support of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, "an amount of public land equal to 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress to which the states are respectively entitled under the census of 1860," and had authorized the Commissioner of the General Land Office to select the lands donated. This donation of lands and the close of the war revived the interests of the Agricultural College, and the question pressed for decision, What disposition shall be made of the agricultural land grant?

The presumption was in favor of the agricultural college already established. The state university having provided in its charter for the organization of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts, it was urged by the representatives of the university that the best interests of the state and of the industries named in the grant would be served by uniting this with the university grant in the support of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts as a department of the university. The financial condition of the university was still uncertain, and the regents, Pillsbury, Merriman, and Nicols, were not yet ready to report. Therefore, to meet the exigencies of 1866, and to preserve the grant intact, under the management of Senator Pillsbury, by an act approved March 2, 1866, the grant was made over to the Agricultural College at Glencoe. In 1867 the regents reported the university indebtedness liquidated, with 32,000 acres of the territorial grant still in possession of the university.

Here I may well quote from an address of Regent Pillsbury before the alumni of the university: "The friends of Mr. Hill

[representing the Glencoe Agricultural College] held a conference with the Senator from East Hennepin [Regent Pillsbury], on the question of uniting the Agricultural College grant with that of the University, as it was apparent to them that they could not obtain appropriations for buildings, and that the grant was likely to be divided up among the normal schools, the Senator advocating that it would be much better for Hill's institution, the university, the state, the friends of agriculture and of education, to consolidate the two grants, and thus make a good, strong educational institution, which view Mr. Hill and his friends finally accepted, with the provision that the swamp lands which had been granted by the state to the agricultural college should be re-granted to the County of McLeod, to endow Stevens Seminary, which seminary was to be organized and established by an act of that present Legislature. The friends of each institution were to co-operate in the passage of the bill to consolidate the Agricultural College grant with the University, and to endow Stevens Seminary by the transfer of the swamp lands formerly granted by the state to the Agricultural College."

The act of consolidation was approved February 18, 1868. "An act to establish Stevens Seminary and endow the same with 4,684 acres of swamp land, was also passed by the Legislature and became a law on March 6, 1868." It was recognized at the time, and is still well known to our older citizens, that the leading responsibility and management of this plan of transfer was with the Senator and Regent Pillsbury. To this interest he gave his individual attention and efforts until its final accomplishment.

With the remains of the territorial grant, the state university grant, made in 1870, and the agricultural grant of 120,000 acres, the university had an available endowment of some 200,000 acres for its support. The increase of the Permanent Fund accruing from the sale of lands will be seen in the table attached.

Minnesota followed the example of Wisconsin, in establishing a College of Agriculture as a department of the university, while Michigan and Iowa were of those states which separated their industrial colleges from the university, and organized them in distinct institutions. Beginning with 1868, the date of the present charter, an experimental farm of 96 acres, located just east of the campus, was purchased for $8,500, and Professor E.

H. Twining was elected to the department of Science and Agriculture. A preparatory course of two years was offered "adapted to the wants of students fitting for the agricultural college." The studies of the first year were arithmetic, grammar and composition, geography, algebra, and physiology; and of the second year, algebra, bookkeeping, natural philosophy, and chemistry.

For the following twenty years the history of this department is one of struggle and experiment to satisfy the demand for an agricultural education. In his first report President Folwell gave his estimate of the importance of high intellectual training for students of agriculture, and said that "mere manual dexterity and technical cleverness are not the final wants of American farmers and artisans." In his report to the Legislature, the President of the Board of Regents said: "Thus far, all the students who have desired work have been employed in taking care of the university buildings, the farm, and the grounds. The number of students who signify the desire to pursue the agricultural course continues to be small. But all things are in readiness, and we only need to have the farmers send their sons to put this department in a flourishing condition."

THE NEW EXPERIMENTAL FARM.

By legislative authority, granted in 1881, the regents proceeded to the sale of the old experimental farm, and to re-invest in the one now occupied. In this transaction Regent Pillsbury assumed the entire responsibility, and gave his time and financial skill toward gaining the greatest possible advantage to the department of agriculture, and with a heartiness as if the profits were to be his own. Under his direction the old farm was platted into some three hundred lots, and at public auction, October 11, 1882, one-half of them were sold for $47,400.

The new farm was known as the "Bass Farm," located on the Como road, between the Twin Cities, and consisted of 155 acres. This was bought for $200 an acre, or $31,000. The entire surplus, after paying for the new farm, was devoted to its improvement and the erection of buildings for the accommodation of the department of agriculture.

And yet the problem of agricultural education was not solved. Whether the farmers themselves were really ready to support the department, or whether what was offered was adapted to the agricultural conditions and demands, was in dispute. It appears from the records, that for twenty-five years the department of agriculture was almost literally without patronage. One, two, and three students was the limit of enrollment; and one graduate in each of the years 1880, '83, '85, and '87, was the result in the completed course.

THE SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE.

In 1887, and again in 1889, a bill was introduced in the Legislature separating the Agricultural College and land grant from the University, and placing them under a separate board as a separate institution. But in the intervening year, 1888, according to plans suggested by Regent Kiehle, a School of Agriculture was established by the University, holding sessions only from October until April. The school opened under the principalship of William W. Pendergast, with an enrollment of forty-seven students. From the first, this school was a standing protest against the plan of separation, and the immediate and continued success of the school caused all opposition to melt away.

Under the wise management of its officers and instructors it has merited and won the enthusiastic support of the agriculturists of the state, and has received from the legislature every appropriation asked for in buildings and equipment; and it has become the center about which have clustered the experiment station, farmers' institutes, dairy schools, and the stated agricultural meetings.

In 1897, upon the motion of the farmers themselves, it was determined to open a department for the daughters of farmers, in which the aim should be the culture and education of homemakers. It has been made to include the culture of home life, the domestic occupations of the complete home in domestic science, cooking, sewing, dairying, horticulture, and whatever promises to make the home of the prosperous American farmer wholesome and attractive. For the care, comfort, and home cul-

ture of these young ladies, the state has provided most liberal accommodations in buildings, equipment, and instruction.

The appended table shows that in the fourteen years of the existence of this school the attendance of young men has increased from 47 in 1880 to 328 in 1902; and the total number of graduates is 353. Of these graduates, 82 per cent. are employed at present in agriculture and the allied branches. In the young ladies' department, during the five years of its existence, the enrollment has grown from 33 in 1898 to 122 in 1902; and the graduates from three in 1899 to 23 in 1902.

The support which this school gives to the College of Agriculture appears in this, that the aggregate enrollment in this college for the period of the school has been 179.

PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENTS.

The professional colleges of law and medicine have, for many centuries, been identified with university education, and have been patronized by the students of government and science. These colleges were readily and naturally opened as the regents considered the time propitious.

The Department of Medicine, the outgrowth of the medical examining board established in 1883, was organized in 1888, with Dr. Perry H. Millard as its first dean. In buildings, laboratories, and general equipment, it is thoroughly provided, and sustains a four year course. It contains the Colleges of 1, Medicine and Surgery; 2, Homeopathic Medicine and Surgery; 3, Dentistry; and 4, Pharmacy. The total enrollment of all its colleges for the last year (1901-'02) was 551, and the number of alumni is 728.

The College of Law was organized in 1888 under the deanship of W. S. Pattee, LL.D. Its development has been rapid in enrollment, and its curriculum takes high rank for its scholarship and thoroughness. Its enrollment for 1901-'02 was 503; and its alumni number 857.

DEPARTMENT OF PEDAGOGY.

The complete history of the university, in the organization of its departments to meet the demands of modern life, requires a

record of the development of the department of pedagogy, or the science of education. A half century ago, the public mind was impressed with the importance of the common schools, and with the necessity for trained teachers. This was known as the normal school movement, of which we have already treated. In laying the broad foundations of the university this interest was recognized, and in the act of 1851, establishing the university, it was provided that the "university shall consist of five departments," one of these being "the department of the theory and practice of elementary instruction." Again, after the organization of the state, the legislature, in 1860, provided that "there shall also be a department for the training of teachers for the common schools of the state, in which shall be taught the theory and practice of teaching, and everything that will tend to perfect the elementary and other schools of the state." It is well worth while that we recognize the democratic attitude of the friends of the university, and their interest in the improvement of all the schools of the state. In the years following, the normal schools, in this as in other states, became the leaders in elementary education, and were devoted to the single purpose of training teachers for the common schools.

Accordingly, and, as it seems, naturally, in the reorganization of the university under its present charter (1868), this section, and all expressed provision for a department of pedagogy, was omitted. But that was a generation ago. In the meantime America has been under the intellectual influence and direction of Germany, from whom she learned her first lessons in the philosophy of education as applied to elementary schools.

Our teachers have learned in the universities of Germany that education is a process subject to physical and mental laws, that cause and effect rule as absolutely in the domain of education as in that of mechanics, though on a plane immeasurably higher, and that conscious and intelligent skill is not to be limited to the care of children. They saw the technical and classical schools of Germany taught by university men trained to their work professionally, and with results that put our own to shame. Gradually, the sentiment strengthened in America that teaching is a profession, and that the principles of pedagogy are as applicable to our schools of secondary education as to our primary.

This movement was felt in our own university. As early as 1873, President Folwell, in his report to the regents, said: "I am of the opinion that after some years it will be desirable to open in the university, as the proper place, a normal department for training teachers of higher schools."

The first response to this advancing sentiment appeared in 1885, when Harry P. Judson, Professor of History, was appointed to give a special course of lectures on teaching. In 1893, by unanimous vote of the regents, the chair of pedagogy was established, and to its duties D. L. Kiehle was appointed.

That the decision to establish this department was timely and wise is evident from these facts: that the legislature, in support of secondary or high schools, has required that all graduates of the university who were to be recognized as qualified teachers in high schools must have pursued the prescribed courses of pedagogy; that the classes of this department, according to its last report (1902), had 102 members, and that of the graduating class 40 per cent. of the whole number, and 60 per cent. of the ladies, held the University Teacher's Certificate.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

In early education, all emphasis was placed on the two extremes, the common schools for the people at large, and the college or university for the higher classes; and so there was an impassable gap between the two. The traditional feeder to the college of the eastern states was the academy and the private school. In the west these intermediate schools were generally wanting. On the other hand, our common schools had no intermediate school to which they could promote, and especially none in which to prepare for the university.

And hence the history of high schools must be studied from the two directions, the demands of the common schools, that their more ambitious and capable students be given a better preparation for business and industrial life; and also of the university, for a proper preparation of its entering classes.

As was reasonable, the representatives of these two interests co-operated in establishing, as a third subdivision of our school system, the state high school, which is unique in its twofold re-

lation, as (1) the academy of the university, and (2) the college of the people. The opposition that attaches to all progressive movements at the first declaimed against taxing the public for more than rudimentary education, while these same objectors were sending their sons to a state-supported university. However, the principle of an entire system of public education prevailed, and development began.

In 1853 Superintendent E. D. Neill secured the enactment of a law providing that, "The trustees of any two or more districts may, by a concurrent vote, agree to establish a grammar school for the older and more advanced children of such district." The word "grammar" was used in its traditional sense to include the classical and other languages.

In 1860 the legislature authorized the City of St. Anthony to establish "two grammar schools," and "a central high school, where instruction in the higher English branches shall be given." This law, amended the following year to include the teaching of the languages, was the beginning of our high school movement.

But the period of the positive advance of our high schools, both in number and in scholarship, dates from the time when they came under the inspiring and moulding influence of the university and the state. In 1869 President Folwell, in his first report to the regents, said: "Our system of public instruction will not be an organized whole until the 'Secondary schools' are graded, not merely with reference to the primary schools below, but to the university above."

STATE HIGH SCHOOLS.

The legislature of 1878 passed the first state high school law, embodying these features: (1) A State High School Board consisting of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of the University, and a third member to be appointed by the governor. (2) The sum of $400 was apportioned to each graded school which (a) admitted properly prepared students free of tuition; (b) gave instruction fitting for the sub-freshman class; and (c) should agree to the inspection of its classes by the high school board.

Mr. Charles S. Bryant was appointed as a member of the board, and acted as its inspector with an earnest and intelligent

enthusiasm. To the legislature of 1879 State Superintendent Burt reported 33 schools in which Latin was taught to 628 pupils, and in six of these schools Greek was taught to 46. The appropriation for this encouragement of higher education was $8,000, but by an oversight it was not made annual. Hence, after one year its operation was suspended.

In 1881 the law was re-enacted with several amendments, chiefly the following:

(1) The Governor, ex-officio, was made the third member of the board. (In 1901 the third member was made appointive.)

(2) High schools shall provide "orderly courses of study embracing all the branches prescribed as a pre-requisite for admission to the collegiate department of the University of Minnesota."

(3) The board may appoint "competent persons to visit and inspect any schools, and to make report thereon."

(4) "The board shall have power to establish suitable rules and regulations relating to examinations, reports, acceptance of schools, courses of study, and other proceedings under this act."

(5) The sum of $20,000 was appropriated annually for the purposes of this act.

The operation of this new law began with the administration of D. L. Kiehle as state superintendent of public instruction, and ex-officio member of the high school board.

In the larger interests of the high schools, completing the education of many for the business life, as well as fitting others for the higher education of the university, the superintendent of public instruction recommended that the board enlarge and emphasize the policy hitherto adopted, and, besides looking immediately and chiefly to the interests of the university in the supervision of high schools, that the board adopt a more general plan of building up these high schools in proportions answering to their twofold relations; and this by means of more definite rules, requiring thoroughly prepared teachers, a well-balanced course of study, a classification of the schools according to their advancement, a systematic written examination of classes by the board, and issuing the certificates of the board to students passing, which certificates should be accepted in lieu of entrance examinations to the university. This plan was approved and adopted by the

board, and at once was set in operation. The president of the university took charge of the examinations, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, as secretary, looked after the inspection and general business of the board.

In 1893 the legislature authorized the appointment of an inspector of State high schools at a reasonable compensation. Under this act George B. Aiton was appointed inspector. Under his diligent and wise administration to the present time, the high schools have attained to a degree of efficiency in number and scholarship that makes them the pride of the state.

The number of high schools has increased from 39 in 1881 to 141 in 1902. The annual appropriation for their support has increased from $20,000 in 1881 to $217,000 in 1903; and for the support of the individual schools, from $400 in 1881 to $1000 in 1902, and to $1600 in 1903, with the provision that in case the amount appropriated will not suffice, the appropriation shall be apportioned pro rata.

A detailed enumeration of the features of progress in our high schools is impossible within these limitations. In number, in buildings, in equipment, in apparatus and libraries, and in the liberal provision made for instruction, these schools have kept abreast of the age, and now fill completely the gap that once existed between the common schools and the university.

GRADED SCHOOLS.

The supervising authority of the state high school board has been further extended to include the graded schools, numbering 119, which have been already reported as the advanced common schools articulating with the high schools. They receive state aid annually to the amount of $550 each, and are under the inspection of Albert W. Rankin, an appointee of the board, who has served in that relation to the present time.

SEMI-GRADED AND RURAL SCHOOLS.

The marked improvement of the high schools and the graded schools under the influence of the aid given by the state in money and stricter supervision determined the legislature to offer the encouragement of financial aid under strict conditions to

semi-graded and rural schools. These conditions were that, for semi-graded schools, the district should be provided with suitable buildings, libraries and apparatus, and that a school of eight months should be maintained each year, organized in at least two departments with a suitable course of study, and taught by competent teachers, one of whom shall hold a state certificate of the first grade, or its equivalent. These schools receive state aid annually to the amount of $225 each.

Rural schools that meet the above conditions, with the exception that they are not required to maintain two departments, receive $125. These schools remain under the supervision of the county superintendents.

This survey completes what is recognized as our public school system. It is complete in offering every child of the commonwealth a free education, and progressive from the primary grade to the university. Every grade points upward toward the university; and to the university itself as the aid and support of all below.

SCHOOLS FOR DEFECTIVES.

In its school system the state educates itself. The children in the schools will soon be the citizens of the state, assuming all its duties and responsibilities. But besides these, the state has another large class of its children, who, by reason of physical defects and the lack of proper moral environment in family and social life, are beyond the reach of the educating influences of the public schools, and may never assume the responsibilities of citizenship. These are the deaf, the blind, the homeless waifs, the imbecile, and the morally depraved. As the state, in benevolent spirit, builds hospitals for the care of the sick, who would otherwise die of neglect, in the same spirit the state undertakes to educate these defectives in special institutions, and by instruction especially adapted to their condition. This class of schools can be only outlined, but must not be overlooked in an estimate of the comprehensiveness of the plan of the state in the care of all its children.

The children who are defective in sight, hearing, or intelligence, and who therefore cannot be taught in the common schools, are provided for by the state in three separate institutions located

in the city of Faribault. In these they are provided with homes and are given an education adapted to their condition.

The legislature of 1863 appointed a commission, consisting of George F. Batchelder, Rodney A. Mott, and David H. Frost, and authorized them to provide for the relief and instruction of the indigent blind and deaf of the state. In September following a school was opened in a hired building under R. H. Kinney, principal, with one matron, one teacher, and a class of five, soon increased to eight, deaf children, three of whom were feeble-minded.

In 1865, the limiting term "indigent" was removed from the statute; and by the same legislature provision was made for a permanent board of five directors, adding the governor and state superintendent of public instruction as ex-officio members of the original number.

The history of this institution is a record of the cordial interest which the citizens of Faribault have taken in the care and the beneficent purposes of these schools. Of the twenty-three different citizens who have served on the board, three have served notably the longest of all in the state,—T. B. Clements, twenty-five years; Hudson Wilson, thirty-three years; and R. A. Mott, thirty-eight years.

In 1879, the legislature appointed a commission of expert physicians to visit the state hospitals for the insane and select from them such idiotic and feeble-minded children as, in their opinion, were proper subjects for special care and instruction, and to assign them to this board for care and training. As a result, twenty-two were selected and placed in a school that same fall with Dr. George H. Knight of Connecticut as principal.

In 1881, the school was incorporated as a department of the institution for defectives, and epileptics were added to be cared for. Until that time the superintendency of all departments had been under Dr. J. L. Noyes; but then they were separated, Dr. Noyes retaining charge of the deaf, leaving Dr. J. J. Dow as superintendent of the blind, and Dr. Knight as superintendent of the feeble-minded.

Until August, 1901, the three departments were administered under the original board, at which time that of the feeble-minded was transferred to the State Board of Control. The entire num-

ber received under the care of this department to the end of the scholastic year, June, 1902, is 1,582.

1. The school for the blind is free to all blind children in the state between the ages of eight and twenty-six years. Board, care, and tuition, are furnished without charge. The school is equipped with all the appliances of a modern school of this class. Special instruction is given in music, and in manual training and industrial work, such as sloyd, broom-making, hammock-weaving, bead-work, basket-work, and sewing. The course of study embraces a period of seven years, beginning with the kindergarten and ending with the usual English studies required for entrance to the high school.

2. The school for the deaf is free to all deaf children between eight and twenty-five years of age whose parents or guardians are citizens of the State. The school course is seven years, which by the vote of the directors may be extended three years. About one-third of the time is devoted to industrial training in carpentry, and cabinet making; and for girls dressmaking, plain sewing and cooking. Of the total enrollment (947) to June, 1902, 551 were males and 396 were females.

Upon completion of the course of this school examinations are given for entrance to Gallaudet College, to which twenty-seven have been admitted, giving Minnesota second place—Iowa being first—of the number sent to college as compared with the total deaf population of the state. Of the Minnesota students who have attended college, ten have become teachers; one, a supervisor; one, a founder and superintendent of a school for the deaf; one, a matron of a school; one, an artist; one, an architect; one, an editor; three, government clerks; and one, a banker.

Of those who have graduated from the school twenty-six are, or have been, teachers; and others are found in various callings, as book-keepers, clerks, artists, merchants, and similar occupations. All this shows that out of the indigent and dependent, the state has educated self-supporting and useful citizens.

3. For the feeble-minded a main building has been provided at a cost of $290,000. It is divided into a north wing for girls, and a south wing for boys, leaving the middle part for administrative rooms, hospital, assembly hall, industrial rooms, and the culinary department.

The children are grouped into "families" for home life, each group being under the care of an attendant during the hours when not in school. This grouping is arranged both according to age and congeniality. In the school rooms the groupings are arranged according to comparative mental ability. During the year 1901-'02 the enrollment was 474 males and 397 females. Of this number 325 were in the school department. A large percentage promise to become self-supporting.

4. The Minnesota State Training School for Boys and Girls was given its present name—changed from State Reform School—to avoid the appearance of separating these youth from society, and of identifying them with the criminal classes.

The school, formerly at St. Paul, is now located at Red Wing on a tract of 450 acres of land. It is provided with an administrative building and separate cottages for boys and girls. Its purpose is to counteract the results of idleness and evil companionship by moral and intellectual instruction, and by training to habits of industry through useful and remunerative occupations. The school is organized on what is known as the "open family plan." It is divided into families of from fifty to seventy-five, according to ages, each family being in charge of a family manager, a teacher, and a housekeeper. The cost of maintaining the school, for the year ending July 31, 1902, was $126,439, of which a part was defrayed by the industrial work. The cost of buildings has been $335,504.

SCHOOL FOR DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

This school, known as the State Public School, was established in 1885. It provides a temporary home and school for the dependent and neglected children of the state. In the school all bodily wants are cared for, and instruction is given in morals and the common school branches. The average time of retention being ten months, no systematic training in trades is undertaken; but all are well occupied in the various industries and services of this State home.

Through an organized state agency children are provided with homes in families, which are regularly visited to learn of the condition and care that is given the children.

Up to January 1, 1903, there had been received, from 76 of the 82 counties, 2,474 children—1,519 boys and 955 girls. Of this number all but 257, then in the school, had been placed in family homes. Of those so placed 1,030 still remained under the supervision of the school. Information gained by visitation showed that 84 per cent. had developed into young men and women of good character. The cost of the entire property has been $226,910.

CONCLUSION.

Taking a summary and general view of what Minnesota has done and is doing for the education of its children, we find that the aggregate expenditure and present valuation, in round numbers, is as follows:

I. BUILDINGS AND PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS.

1.	By the State	$ 3,500,000
2.	By Special and Independent Districts	12,000,000
3.	By Common School Districts	4,000,000
	Total	$19,500,000

II. FOR ANNUAL SUPPORT.

1.	By the General Government—Revenue from land grants, and money	$ 590,000
2.	By the State	1,400,000
3.	By School Districts	3,000,000
	Total	$ 4,990,000

These amounts are necessarily approximate; yet they are sufficiently accurate to answer the purpose of a general estimate of the material expression of the worthiest impulses and principles of our people in the care of those who are the future hope and honor of the State.

Another view, higher than the merely financial one, is the successful application of the state's intelligence to the develop-

ment of its system to comprehend every stage and aspect of its civic and industrial life. In the geography of our state, we see that every stream, rivulet, and spring, finds its way to the great ocean, and so makes itself a contributing part of the great system of waters; likewise, so complete is our system of education that every vocation of life, every gradation and degree of culture,—artisan and statesman; the care of the plant, and the protection of human life; the child at his alphabet, and the mature student of the philosophy of life; the brilliant genius, and the unfortunate imbecile; the child of the poorest, and the son of the richest,—all are comprehended in the provisions of our system of education, so far perfected that it stands at the forefront of all that human wisdom has devised for the improvement of the race and the perpetuation of human institutions.

And now, in what we have accomplished, we have a guarantee for the future, that the problems still unsolved and the defects still unremedied will find their solution, and that completeness will ultimately crown our history with the honors of intelligence and philanthrophy.

Tables and Statistics.

TABLE I.

Showing the Complete List of Educational Officers of the State and of State Institutions.

I. Superintendents of Public Instruction.

	Term Begun.	Ended.
Edward D. Neill	March, 1851	1853
E. W. Merrill	August, 1853	1854
M. C. Baker	March, 1854	1855 (?)
W. S. Hall	1855 (?)	(?)
Edward D. Neill	April, 1860	May, 1861
B. F. Crary	May, 1861	July, 1862
James H. Baker (1)	July, 1862	November, 1862
D. Blakeley (1)	November, 1862	January, 1866
H. C. Rogers (1)	January, 1866	April, 1867
Mark H. Dunnell	April 1, 1867	August 1, 1870
Horace B. Wilson	August 1, 1870	April 3, 1875
David Burt	April 3, 1875	September 1, 1881
David L. Kiehle	September 1, 1881	September 1, 1893
Wm. W. Pendergast	September 1. 1893	January 21, 1899
John H. Lewis	January 21, 1899	January 25, 1901
John W. Olsen	January 25, 1901	

(1) Ex-officio, as Secretary of State.

II. Presidents of the University of Minnesota.

Edward D. Neill (1)	March, 1858	May, 1861
W. W. Washburn (2)	September, 1867	June, 1869
William W. Folwell	September, 1869	May, 1884 (3)
Cyrus Northrop	September, 1884	

(1) Chancellor. (2) Principal. (3) Resigned May, 1883

III. Presidents of the State Normal Schools.

1. Winona.

John Ogden	September, 1860	September, 1861
William F. Phelps	November, 1864	June, 1876
Charles A. Morey	September, 1876	June, 1879
Irwin Shepard	September, 1879	June, 1898
J. F. Millspaugh	September, 1898	

2. Mankato.

George M. Gage	September, 1868	June, 1872
Julia A. Sears (1)	September, 1872	June, 1873
D. C. John	September, 1873	June, 1880
Edward F. Searing	September, 1880	October, 1898
Charles H. Cooper	January, 1899	

(1) Acting.

3. St. Cloud.

Ira Moore	September, 1869	June, 1875
David L. Kiehle	September, 1875	June, 1881
Jerome Allen	September, 1881	June, 1884
Thomas J. Gray	September, 1884	June, 1890
Joseph Carhart	September, 1890	June, 1895
Geo. F. Kleeberger	September, 1895	June, 1902
Waite A. Shoemaker	September, 1902	

4. Moorhead.

L. C. Lord	August, 1888	June, 1898
Frank A. Weld	September, 1898	

5. Duluth.

E. W. Bohannon	September, 1901

TABLE II.

Showing the Amounts and Income of the Permanent School Funds and the School Enrollment for Every Fifth Year.

	University, Permanent Fund.	Income.	Permanent School Fund.	Income.	Enrollment.
1862	$.....	$.....	$ 242,531	$ 12,308	32,560
1867	840	196	1,587,210	91,906	68,870
1872	145,121	17,093	2,739,089	163,555	120,352
1877	353,989	37,843	3,403,219	200,982	152,023
1882	625,124	29,813	5,372,326	267,082	189,239
1887	837,361	35,296	8,258,096	352,822	245,481
1892	1,000,445	38,634	10,132,867	515,333	300,333
1897	1,202,893	49,266	11,823,145	551,941	371,889
1902	1,334,035	53,698	14,316,389	592,554	414,671

TABLE III.

Showing the Total Cost of Buildings and Permanent Improvements for Educational Institutions, including 1901-1902.

State University, from 1867	$1,450,642
State Normal Schools, from 1866	751,000
Schools for Defectives, from 1866	883,250
State Training School, from 1867	335,504
State Public School, from 1886	219,774
Total	$3,640,170

TABLE IV.

Showing Annual Disbursements for the Current Expenses of Educational Institutions for Every Fifth Year..

	University.	Normal Schools.	Defectives.	Reform.	State Public School.
1861	$.....	$ 1,318	$.....	$.....	$.....
1867	11,508 ('69)	5,000	.....	.....	.....
1872	21,000	26,212	20,000	12,000	.....
1877	39,000	30,000	28,000	27,000	.....
1882	43,881	37,023	45,074	32,000	.....
1887	84,100	50,000	74,874	35,000	13,026
1892	184,624	86,520	111,017	56,723	24,258
1897	283,716	122,604	166,550	58,186	34,889
1902	415,104	134,007	187,388	58,712	38,053

TABLE V.

Showing the Enrollments and Graduations of the Normal Schools at Winona, Mankato, St. Cloud, and Moorhead, from the beginning.

	ENROLLMENT. Male.	Female.	Total Graduates.		ENROLLMENT. Male.	Female.	Total Graduates.
1861	29a	30	..	1883	228	466	63
1863	..	..	..	1884	197	475	94
1864	4	28	..	1885	321	632	75
1865	9	41	..	1886	354	690	115
1866	13	67	14	1887	301	617	140
1867	13	74	11	1888	240	579	122
1868	22	100	16	1889	213d	558	116
1869	76b	245	39	1890	244	525	129
1870	115c	337	31	1891	242	731	125
1871	148	345	71	1892	245	785	231
1872	130	320	64	1893	246	771	219
1873	142	429	42	1894	274	809	237
1874	176	422	62	1895	301	931	257
1875	188	500	60	1896	328	1150	291
1876	140	532	73	1897	335	1039	345
1877	167	344	77	1898	355	1385	279
1878	148	287	57	1899	414	1640	367
1879	127	287	83	1900	325	1121	379
1880	138	264	85	1901	266	1117	465
1881	166	307	59	1902	255	1093	308
1882	220	465	61	....	...	....	...

First enrollments: a. Winona; b. Mankato; c. St. Cloud; d. Moorhead.

TABLE VI.

Showing Enrollment and Graduations in the several Departments of the University.

	Coll., Sci., Lit. and Arts.				Professsional Colleges.				Industrial Colleges.		School of Agriculture.		
	M.	F.	Tot.	G.	M.	F.	Tot.	G.	M.	G.	M.	F.	G.
1868	...	...	72e	...	....	..	....	...	...	..	...	...	..
1869	108	38	146	...	....	..	....	...	...	..	...	...	..
1870	138	74	212	...	....	..	....	...	...	..	...	...	..
1871	165	60	225	...	....	..	....	...	...	..	...	...	..
1872	202	63	265	...	....	..	....	...	...	..	...	...	..
1873	202	76	278	2	....	..	....	...	3	..	...	...	..
1874	203	84	287	2	....	..	....	...	4	..	...	...	..
1875	186	49	235	6	....	..	....	...	7	3	2	...	..
1876	193	71	264	9	....	..	....	...	5	3	2	...	..
1877	209	93	302	15	....	..	....	...	3	1	1	...	..
1878	234	136	370	15	....	..	....	...	3	1	1	...	..
1879	259	133	382	24	....	..	....	...	3	2	3	...	..
1880	209	97	306	18	....	..	....	...	2	0	1	...	..
1881	182	88	270	28	....	..	....	...	1	0	...	...	..
1882	159	75	234	33	....	..	....	...	18	1	...	...	..
1883	122	76	198	22	....	..	....	...	85	3	10	...	..
1884	131	75	206	21	....	..	....	2a	82	3	...	...	..
1885	134	83	217f	13	....	..	....	2	92	4	...	...	..
1886	205	88	293	18	....	..	....	3	113	1	...	...	..
1887	124	97	221	25	....	..	....	2	71	3	14	...	..
1888	200	134	334	34	....	..	....	0	152	4	10	...	..
1889	236	151	387	27	174	9	183	24b	174	1	47h	...	..
1890	259	221	480g	45	254	11	265	63	181	12	78	...	4
1891	264	255	519	45	357	17	374	79	193	5	104	...	18
1892	267	270	537	54	449	21	470	98	254	10	101	...	9
1893	251	380	631	84	516	32	548	152	204	14	114	...	21
1894	203	476	679	80	569	25	594	156c	255	11	144	...	19
1895	238	484	722	108	657	31	688	170	247	18	204	...	25
1896	311	508	819	117	740	27	767	213	306	16	269	...	28
1897	332	577	909	129	717	30	747	164	320	27	335	...	28
1898	350	590	940	139	832	26	858	158	339	27	276	33	23
1899	361	546	907	152	887	35	922	165	387	18	257	56	34i
1900	359	582	941	141	1044	40	1084	231d	434	32	328	79	45
1901	418	675	1093	157	959	37	996	240	521	27	338	80	63
1902	333	846	1179	208	1016	38	1054	249	630	19	328	122	70

First Graduations: a. Medicine; b. Homeopathic Medicine, Dentistry, Law; c. Pharmacy; d. Pharmaceutical Chemistry.

e. Including 3d and 4th year prep. classes. f. 4th year prep. class discontinued. g. 3d year prep. class discontinued. h. School of Agriculture opened. i. First graduation of ladies.

TABLE VII.

Institutions of Higher and Secondary Education other than State Institutions.

Name.	Place.	Year of Organization.	Religious Affiliations.	President.	Instructors.	Enrolled.
Albert Lea College	Albert Lea	1885	Presbyterian	Kath. I. Hutchison, Principal	12	84
Carleton College	Northfield	1867	Congregational	W. H. Sallmon, D. D	21	302
Gustavus Adolphus College	St. Peter	1875	Lutheran	M. Wahlstrom, D. D	18	350
Hamline University	Hamline, St. Paul	1854	Methodist Episcopal	Geo. H. Bridgman, D. D	40	500
Macalester College	Macalester Park, St. Paul	1884	Presbyterian	James Wallace, Ph. D	14	180
Parker College	Winnebago City	1887	Free Baptist	Edwin A. Day	9	113
St. Olaf College	Northfield	1874	Lutheran	J. N. Kildahl	17	361
St. John's University	Collegeville	1864	Catholic	Albert Enger	25	300
Ansgar College	Hutchinson	1902	Lutheran	H. W. Foght, A. M	15	204
Augsburg Seminary	Minneaapolis		Lutheran		8	165
Bethlehem Academy	Faribault	1866	Catholic	Sister M. Veronica	12	100
Breck School	Wilder	1889	Episcopal	Rev. William Pond	7	45
College of St. Thomas	Merriam Park, St. Paul	1885	Catholic	Very Rev. J. F. Dolphin, A. M	17	230
Concordia College	St. Paul	1892	Lutheran	Prof. Theo. Buenger	5	110
Concordia College	Moorhead	1891	Lutheran	R. Bagstad	10	220
Glenwood Academy	Glenwood	1894	Lutheran			154
Holy Trinity School	New Ulm	1875	Catholic	Rev. H. B. Sandmeyer	8	400
Luther Academy	Albert Lea		Lutheran		5	
Luther Seminary	Hamline, St. Paul		Lutheran			
Martin Luther College	New Ulm	1893	Lutheran	Rev. J. Schaller	6	60
Northwestern College	Fergus Falls	1900	Lutheran	A. C. Youngdahl	6	130
Park Region Luther College	Fergus Falls		Lutheran			
Red Wing Ladies' Seminary	Red Wing	1894	Lutheran	H. Allen		125
Red Wing Seminary	Red Wing	1879	Lutheran	M. G. Hanson	7	100
St. Mary's Hall	Faribault	1866	Episcopal	Bishop S. C. Edsall	17	95
St. Paul's College	St. Paul Park	1889	Methodist Episcopal	Rev. William F. Finkel, A. M	7	79
Sacred Heart Institute	Duluth		Catholic			
Seabury Divinity School	Faribault	1858	Episcopal	A. A. Butler	7	22
Shattuck School	Faribault	1866	Episcopal	James Dobbin, D. D	17	188
Southern Minnesota Normal	Austin	1897		Charles Boostrom	13	250
United Lutheran Normal School	Madison	1893	Lutheran	Rev. Ole Lokensgaard	5	173
Willmar Seminary	Willmar	1882	Lutheran	Rev. Henry Solum	6	210
Windom Institute	Montevideo	1885	Congregational	R. P. Herrick, D. D	9	205

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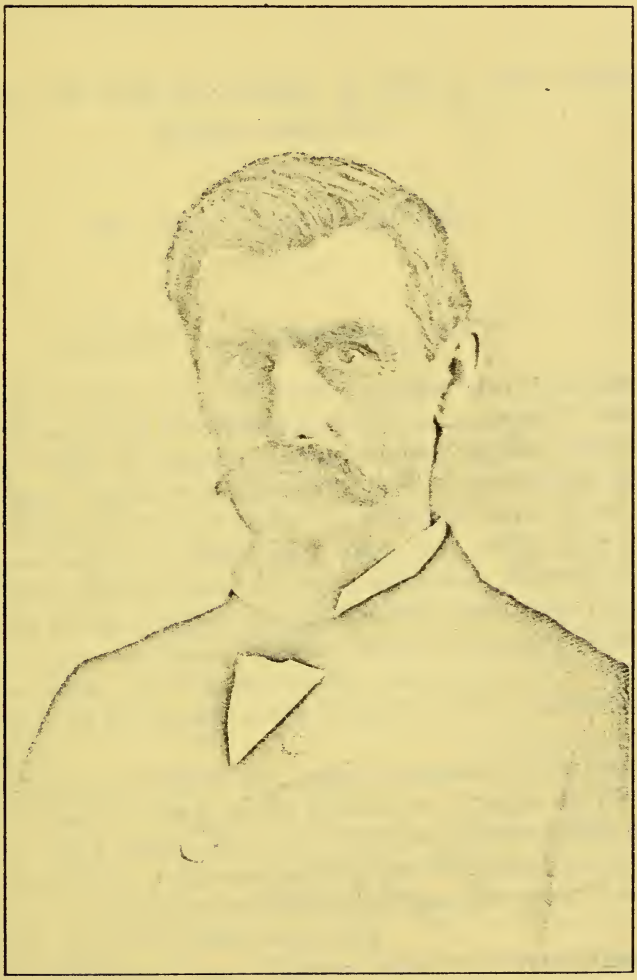


C. W. Bishop

HISTORY OF THE ST. PAUL & SIOUX CITY RAILROAD, 1864-1881.*

BY GEN. JUDSON W. BISHOP.

MINNESOTA VALLEY RAILROAD COMPANY.

The Minnesota Valley Railroad Company was organized in 1864 under an act of the Minnesota Legislature approved March 4th, 1864, which act granted to that company all the "lands, interests, rights, powers and privileges" granted to the then Territory of Minnesota by and under the so-called Land Grant Act of Congress approved March 3rd, 1857, and which were conferred on the then so-called Southern Minnesota Railroad Company by act of the Legislature approved May 22nd, 1857, pertaining to the proposed line of railroad from St. Paul *via* Mankato and other points named to the southern boundary of the state in the direction of the mouth of the Big Sioux river, where Sioux City now is.

The said act of March 3rd, 1857, had granted to the state six sections of land per mile of the railroad as a bonus for its construction; and a subsequent act of Congress approved May 12th, 1864, granted four additional sections per mile which were duly transferred to the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company by act of Legislature approved March 2nd, 1865.

The Minnesota Valley Railroad Company was organized with an authorized capital stock of $500,000, of which $473,000 was at once subscribed and paid in.

Its principal stockholders and first Board of Directors were: H. H. Sibley, Russell Blakeley, R. H. Hawthorne, George Cul-

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, April 13 1903.

ver, W. F. Davidson, E. F. Drake, H. M. Rice, J. L. Merriam, Horace Thompson, Franklin Steele, John S. Prince, J. E. Thompson, J. C. Burbank, T. A. Harrison, John Farrington, W. D. Washburn, and C. H. Bigelow. Of these seventeen directors, only the last three named now survive.

The officers of the company were: E. F. Drake, president; J. L. Merriam, vice-president; G. A. Hamilton, secretary; and Horace Thompson, treasurer. These gentlemen continued in their respective offices until the merging of the St. Paul and Sioux City and its subsidiary lines, with the West Wisconsin, St. Paul, Stillwater and Taylor's Falls, and North Wisconsin lines, into the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company in 1880.

In 1865 the road was located and constructed from Mendota to Shakopee, 22 miles; and in 1866 it was extended eastward from Mendota to West St. Paul, 6 miles, terminating at South Wabasha street, near where a freight yard and depot were re-established last year (in 1902), and was extended westward from Shakopee to Belle Plaine, 19 miles, making then, in all, 47 miles of completed road.

About the first of April, 1867, the writer was appointed chief engineer, and under his supervision the location and construction of successive extensions were completed to Le Sueur in 1867, to Mankato in 1868, to Lake Crystal in 1869, and to St. James, 122 miles from St. Paul, in 1870.

Meantime, in 1869, the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company and the Minnesota Central Railroad Company (since absorbed by the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company) joined in the construction of the bridge over the Mississippi river, and of the line from Pickerel lake (two miles east of Mendota) to and over said bridge and to the site of the present Union Depot in St. Paul; our company building a freight house, 40 by 300 feet, on the river bank at the foot of Robert street, so arranged on the river side as to exchange freight with steamboats, there being then no direct railway connection at St. Paul for the east or south.

ST. PAUL AND SIOUX CITY RAILROAD COMPANY.

On the 7th day of April, 1869, the name of the company was changed from the *Minnesota Valley Railroad Company* to

the *St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company,* the road in that year having run out of the valley at the south bend of the river, and having reached the open prairie at Lake Crystal on its way towards Sioux City.

The new company had $2,400,000 of capital stock, and fifteen directors: Messrs. H. H. Sibley, Horace Thompson, S. F. Hersey, George A. Hamilton, J. L. Merriam, W. F. Davidson, J. C. Burbank, J. S. Prince, E. F. Drake, A. H. Wilder, C. H. Bigelow, T. A. Harrison, Russell Blakeley, H. G. Harrison, and J. W. Pence; of whom Mr. Bigelow is now the only survivor.

Mr. John F. Lincoln had been appointed superintendent of the line in 1867, and continued as such until 1880.

IMPORTANCE OF THE MINNESOTA RIVER.

The Minnesota river in those days was a factor not to be disregarded by the railroad:

First, Because it was navigable and therefore a competitor for April, May, June, and July, as far up as Mankato, and a part of the time to Fort Ridgely and the Redwood and Yellow Medicine Indian agencies.

During the spring and summer of 1867, the terminus of the road being at Belle Plaine, we arranged with the steamer "Mollie Mohler" to make a round trip daily, leaving Belle Plaine on arrival of our morning train from St. Paul, to Mankato and return, to connect with our afternoon train to St. Paul. Other and larger boats made frequent trips whenever they could find a paying load, and at that time the railroad wanted and needed all the business the country afforded.

Second, The river was accustomed in the spring and summer months to overflow its banks and cover the bottom lands one or two miles wide, and five to fifteen feet deep, compelling us for safe construction to keep our railroad line above high water level, and to follow generally the contour of the bluffs.

At that time all that part of the state south and west of Mankato tributary to the Minnesota river was in grass, uncultivated and uninhabited except by the few settlers along and near the river banks. Some twelve or more counties were

drained by the Maple, the Blue Earth, the Watonwan, the Cottonwood, the Redwood, the Yellow Medicine and the Lac qui Parle rivers, all, with several others from the north side, flowing into the Minnesota above Mankato.

The water from the melting snows in the early spring, or from heavy rains in the later months, ran from the surface at once into the creeks and then into the rivers, and within a few hours was flooding the Minnesota valley, even covering at last the West St. Paul flats ten to twelve feet deep.

With the settlement and cultivation of all that country, the situation and the habits of the river have wholly changed. It has been many years since a steamer has been able to navigate the river above Shakopee, and we shall never see the old-time floods again.

OTHER RAILROADS AND LAND GRANTS.

In 1870 the Lake Superior and Mississippi railroad was completed and opened from St. Paul to Duluth, and the construction of the Northern Pacific railway was commenced in earnest. In 1871 the Chicago and St. Paul Railroad, now the River Division of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway, was completed and opened to St. Paul; and the West Wisconsin railroad, now the Eastern Division of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha railway, was completed to Hudson.

To meet this latter road, the St. Paul, Stillwater and Taylor's Falls Railroad Company, composed mainly of the men interested in the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company, was organized and in 1871 constructed the road from St. Paul to Stillwater and to Hudson, Wis.; and in November and December of the same year, the same men, under the corporate name of the North Wisconsin Railroad Company, constructed the road from the junction near Hudson to New Richmond, in the direction of Duluth and Bayfield.

Meantime, to return to earlier dates, the Congress, by act approved May 12th, 1864, had made to the State of Iowa a grant of ten sections to the mile of road in aid of the construction of a railroad from Sioux City to the south line of Minnesota at a point between the Big Sioux and the West Fork

of the Des Moines river; and this grant was, by the Legislature of Iowa by act approved April 3rd, 1866, conferred on the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad Company, which company had been organized in Iowa in 1865 by, and at the instance of, the incorporators of the Minnesota Valley Railroad Company. Messrs. H. H. Sibley, E. F. Drake and R. A. Smith represented the last named company in the Board of Directors named in the articles of incorporation of the Iowa company.

THE ROUTE FROM MANKATO TO SIOUX CITY.

In November, 1868, the then terminus of our road being at Mankato, it was suggested that the Chief Engineer and two of our Directors, as a committee, should personally inspect the country and our proposed line, so nearly as might be, from Mankato to Sioux City, and attend to some local matters at the latter place. The country along the line of the land grants was then for 150 miles beyond Madelia a wholly uninhabited prairie with no road or trail or shelter for man or beast, and at that season a trip along or near the line would have been unsafe, if at all practicable. So, conferring with Messrs. J. L. Merriam and John S. Prince, who were to be my companions, we decided to follow the trail of the man who, with his pony cart, twice a month carried the mail from Madelia to Sioux City and return, by way of Jackson, Spirit Lake, Spencer, and Cherokee. This trail was about thirty miles east of our land grant line, but had a cabin or two at each of the places named, where we found shelter at night. With a comfortable spring wagon and good Indian Summer weather, we made of it a very pleasant and long to be remembered trip of five days, averaging about forty miles a day. We were very cordially received at Sioux City, and everything was soon arranged as we desired.

Sending our team and driver back over the same trail, we decided to return by the only rail route then available, *via* Council Bluffs and Chicago. Arriving at Council Bluffs, we accepted an invitation to go out with some of the Union Pacific officers to the end of the track, then near Green River, Wyoming. We spent six days on this excursion, and returning *via* Chicago, Milwaukee, and Prairie du Chien, arrived at home the seventeenth day of our trip.

In the winter of 1870-1871, the St. Paul and Sioux City road having been completed to St. James, a contract was made with the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad Company, under which that company assumed the construction and operation of the road from St. James to Sioux City, and was thereby to acquire all the lands granted to the St. Paul and Sioux City Company and not then earned (in Minnesota), and of course, all the lands granted in aid of the road in Iowa.

The new company was to complete the road from St. James to a junction with the Iowa Falls and Sioux City railroad (now the Illinois Central railroad) at Lemars, Iowa, 24 miles this side of Sioux City, in the year 1872.

The Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad Company at this time had enlisted new men and new capital, and its officers were: E. F. Drake, president; A. H. Wilder, vice president; S. T. Davis (of Sioux City), secretary; and Horace Thompson, treasurer. Its nine directors were Messrs. George I. Seney, Adrian Iselin, and D. S. Miller, of New York; George H. Mackay and Alex. H. Rice, of Boston; S. T. Davis, of Sioux City; and E. F. Drake, A. H. Wilder, and Horace Thompson, of St. Paul.

The writer was appointed chief engineer and charged with the location and construction. Surveying parties commenced work from St. James westward in March, 1871, and in April the chief engineer, with team and driver, covered spring wagon, his old army "mess kit" with six days' rations and forage, a large pocket compass, and the best maps then obtainable, started to find and mark by his wagon wheels, an approximate line across the uninhabited country from St. James to Sioux City.

Certain points were known to be fixed by the Land Grant Survey of 1857, or by the topography, as, for instance, the crossing of Des Moines river, the head of Heron lake, the Okabena lakes, and the Floyd river valley in Iowa; and between these the courses were computed, and the wagon was steered by compass over the desolate prairie as a vessel would be guided across the ocean. Four lonesome cabins were found on or near the line, one at the Des Moines river, one at Heron lake, one at Okabena lakes, and one at the head of Floyd river. Of these, two were occupied by homesteaders and two by trappers.

As we approached Lemars on the newly constructed Iowa Falls and Sioux City railroad we found in the lower Floyd valley several families who had been there one or two years, and who were comfortably housed.

We went through to Sioux City, where some matters required attention, and returned over the same line the following week. I soon found that the trail of my wagon wheels had become quite a well travelled road. Settlers with teams were coming in from the east, and on striking the trail would turn into it and follow it until a quarter section was reached that suited, when a settlement would be promptly made upon it. In a few weeks the line was covered as far as the state boundary with graders and bridge builders; and a splendid herd of elk, which I had seen between Heron lake and Worthington, had disappeared forever. The line of the present so-called "Omaha railway" is not at any point between St. James and Sioux City more than eighty rods distant from that wagon trail of April, 1871.

During the season of 1871 the road was graded through to Lemars, and the track was completed to Worthington in the first week of November.

Meantime townsites had been platted and stations opened, and hotels and stores, etc., established, at St. James, Mountain Lake, Bingham Lake, Windom, Heron Lake, Brewster, and Worthington; and the government lands subject to entry as homesteads had been mostly taken by actual settlers, who, in their new homes, were as yet but imperfectly sheltered and supplied with fuel and provisions.

Then came the winter of 1871-1872, with severe cold weather and frequent and protracted storms of snow and wind. It immediately became apparent that the road could be operated through the winter only at a loss, if at all; but the condition of the newly established inhabitants of the prairie counties west of St. James seemed to make it imperative to keep the road open and trains running, and it was done so far as was possible, giving employment in snow shovelling to all who were able and willing to work, and supplying wood from the Minnesota valley to all of the prairie stations.

In 1872 the track was completed to Lemars on the 25th of September, and on the first of October the road was in regular

operation through to Sioux City, using the Iowa Falls and Sioux City track between Lemars and Sioux City, as is in fact now done (1903).

The counties in southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa, near and tributary to the new road, were by this time sparsely occupied by new comers, unaccustomed to the new life and situation; and, apprehending a repetition of the previous winter's experience, every effort was made to prepare and provide for it on the part of the Railroad Company, and to induce and stimulate such preparation on the part of the settlers, by accumulating fuel and supplies during the fall months.

On the 13th of November the winter commenced with a furious snowstorm with high wind, which lasted two or three days. The weather was extremely cold, and the snow particles were hard and fine like sand, and it was impossible for man or beast to make headway against it. It blinded the eyes, cut the skin like a shower of needles, confused the mind, and smothered the breath; and, if the man who was overtaken by it did not immediately find shelter, he was likely to perish miserably in a very short time. This was the "blizzard" which, in its several murderous visits during that winter, cost the lives of nearly a hundred victims in different parts of this state. The winter all through was even more severe than the preceding one, and the road was again for several months operated, so far as was possible, at a heavy loss to the company.

On the first of January, 1873, the writer was appointed general manager by both companies interested in the line between St. Paul and Sioux City, Capt. Thomas P. Gere (who had been assistant engineer) succeeding him as chief engineer of both companies; and the authority of John F. Lincoln as superintendent was extended over both roads making the through line.

During the spring and summer of 1873 thorough preparations for the coming winter were made by the sloping out and obliterating of the shallow cuts so that snow would not lodge in them, and by constructing double lines of snow fences and planting trees to protect the deeper cuts, and generally bringing the new track into better condition. These efforts proved successful, and there has been little trouble in operating the road in any winter since then, except in the unusually severe one of 1880-1881.

It has been said already that the country between Mankato and Sioux City, a stretch of nearly two hundred miles, was in 1871 and 1872, when the road was under construction, a naked prairie, almost as destitute of trees as of human inhabitants. As during those and the following years the lands were being taken and occupied by actual settlers, the company by precept and by example tried to encourage the planting of trees; and, for ten years, young trees, cuttings, and tree seeds were transported to every station free of charge. The beneficent results of this policy are now apparent to one who sees the splendid groves surrounding the comfortable farm houses and shading the parks and streets in the villages and cities, and who remembers the utterly blank landscape of thirty years ago.

THE GRASSHOPPER SCOURGE.

The new settlers had generally done in the previous summer months more or less breaking up of the virgin sod, and everywhere along and in the vicinity of the roads were fields of corn, wheat, and other grain, giving promise of a plentiful harvest, the first crop of the pioneers generally in their new homes. One August day the sky was filled with a cloud of grasshoppers coming from unknown regions of the Northwest, full grown and hungry. They alighted in myriads on every field of grain, and in an hour the ground was bare. After completing the devastation of the growing crops, they filled the ground with eggs and then departed, whither no one knew.

It is hard now to appreciate the situation, and to realize the consternation that pervaded the inhabitants and those interested in the Railroad Company, as every hope of a crop of any kind for that season disappeared, while the gravest apprehensions remained as to that of the coming year. Generally, however, the ground was fall plowed in preparation for the next spring sowing, and with the vague hope that the eggs might be destroyed by the winter frosts.

In early June of 1874 the fields that had been devastated by the grasshoppers in the previous summer had been generally cultivated and re-seeded and were promising a generous return to the anxious owners. But now the eggs were hatching,

and in a few days the little hoppers outnumbered the wheat plants five to one. A few more days and the fields were eaten bare again. Whole counties in southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa were in this condition, and a panic ensued at once. I spent a day in personal inspection of the devastated fields and in interviewing the demoralized settlers, and, returning that night to St. Paul, reported the situation next morning to our Directors at a special meeting. The outlook was very discouraging, but it would become a great deal worse if something were not done at once to check the impending stampede of the disheartened settlers, and to restore and establish confidence.

I suggested a plan, and it was adopted, and the next day I was at the front again, putting it into operation.

I had proposed to join with five others in the purchase from the company, at its regular published prices, of all the railroad lands in two townships located in the heart of the grasshopper district, and to immediately commence breaking the sod, employing the settlers to do the work in small tracts. Messrs. Horace Thompson, A. H. Wilder, and John L. Merriam, of St. Paul, and Adrian Iselin and George I. Seney, of New York, who were consulted and who approved by telegraph, formed, with myself, the party who were facetiously dubbed the "Grasshopper Syndicate."

The lands were selected near Sheldon, Iowa, and I telegraphed to John L. Kenny, who had been quartermaster in my regiment ten years before, and who knew how to manage men and teams, to meet me there next morning.

While he proceeded to mark off a square mile of land into twenty acre tracts, I "intercepted" the migrating settlers as they came in sight on their way to Dakota, or to anywhere beyond the grasshoppers, and before night I had captured twelve of them, each with a contract to break twenty acres at $2.50 per acre. The wagon bed was lifted off, and the wife and children commenced housekeeping in it, while the man unlimbered his breaking plow and started in. The news spread over the country like a prairie fire in November, and within six weeks I had over 2,000 acres turned over. A good many of these men, after completing their contracts, returned to their abandoned homesteads and broke twenty acres or more each for themselves.

Then came the fall plowing, and the panic gradually quieted down. Meantime the hoppers had devoured the crops, had grown to maturity, filled the ground with eggs again, and departed. Now evidently there was more trouble to come. With 2,000 acres of newly broken land to be utilized, we built a farm house with barn, sheds, granary, etc. Next spring it was all put into crops, including corn, oats, flax, barley, etc., and one square mile field in wheat.

About the first of June the growing grain was something to be proud of as we looked it over, but a close inspection revealed the ground alive with 'hoppers again. I would not weary this audience with any more grasshopper war stories, but we have recently heard that they filled the ground with eggs last fall in certain northwestern counties of the state, and our experience may be helpful to those interested there.

I telegraphed to St. Paul for barrels of coal tar, and for plates of sheet iron about eight feet long by four feet wide, and we undertook to save that square mile of wheat in this way. The sheet iron plates were bent up a little at the front edge, and at the rear edge a strip was turned up six or eight inches wide. These plates were laid along the south line of the field at the southeast corner, with a space of eight or nine feet between them, end to end. A horse was placed in front of, and between, each pair of plates, his whiffletree being attached by wires about nine feet long to the nearest corners of the two plates behind him, so that, when ready to advance, the "line of battle," as the boys called it, extended about as many rods as there were plates. Then the plates were brushed with coal tar, and the line advanced northward. The 'hoppers in front of the horse would jump to the right and left, and another and final jump would land them in the tar. At first a man was required to manage each horse, but as they became used to the work, their heads were connected by lines, so that a man at each end and one to spare, could guide a line of eight or nine horses, and could clean about sixteen acres at every trip across the field. Each pan would accumulate a load of several bushels of 'hoppers in crossing the field, and at the end of the trip the pans were cleaned with shovels, rebrushed with tar, readjusted in line, and a return trip was made in like manner over the adjacent ground.

Though all this did not work smoothly and perfectly at first, it did after a few hours' practice, and we thus covered the entire square mile in five days.

The next week we went over the ground in like manner from east to west, and found that we had effectually cleaned up the little pests without appreciable injury to the growing grain; and then our other fields were treated in like manner. These operations were watched with great interest by neighboring farmers, and many of them saved their crops by similar efforts.

A week later a new danger threatened this particular field. A quarter section cornering on it had been sown also to wheat, and had been abandoned by the owner to the 'hoppers hatched therein. They had eaten it bare, and now, being half grown, had begun to migrate over to our field. They were not old enough to fly, and traveled in short leaps, and there were millions of them, all hungry.

Fortunately they were discovered when the movement commenced, and it was met by commencing a ditch at the corner and extending it as rapidly as possible to the north and east. We found that a ditch two feet wide, and one and a half feet deep, was sufficient to stop them; very few were able to cross it —the grand army went into it, and were utterly unable to rise out of it. In a couple of days they had nearly filled it, and the raid was over.

A good many fields were abandoned to the pests that summer, to be totally destroyed, but some were saved, to yield a fair harvest. Our square mile of wheat gave us 11,298 bushels, which was sold at 80 cents; the total expense of fighting the 'hoppers was between 30 and 40 cents per acre.

This year (1875) the grasshoppers at maturity generally left the country without depositing eggs, and there has been no serious trouble with them since. Those appearing in later years were less in numbers, easily handled, and created no panic.

The "Grasshopper Syndicate," however, continued its operations, breaking up new land every year, and selling out both new and cultivated lands, as buyers appeared, carrying on meantime its farming operations on a large scale, until in 1882

it was closed out, returning to each man all the capital he had invested, with interest and a handsome dividend of profits. It had deserved and achieved success.

Its example was followed by other large non-resident land owners, several of whom placed their lands under the writer's management for similar treatment. So, besides the 13,000 acres owned by the Syndicate, of which about one-half was put under cultivation, two farm headquarters, with buildings, etc., being successively established, he had to look after other similar enterprises, establishing three other farms and cultivating about 4,000 acres. All of these were successfully carried through until disposed of to the satisfaction and profit of the owners, and incidentally to the benefit of the road at a critical time in its history. Of course, as a railroad manager he could give but casual personal attention to these farms; but, with capable and honest foremen in charge, and with a system of reports and accounts, he was able to keep them under such supervision as was necessary without neglecting the regular railroad work.

EXTENSION OF THIS RAILWAY SYSTEM.

There were financial troubles in 1873, 1874 and 1875, and there was a disposition to unfriendly legislation in Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin during those years, apparently growing out of the so-called granger movement among the farmers; and for these reasons not a mile of railroad was built in Minnesota during the three years last named.

In 1876 the Worthington and Sioux Falls Railroad Company was organized by the St. Paul and Sioux City people, and the road was built from Sioux Falls Junction to Luverne in that year. It was extended to Beaver Creek in 1877 and to Sioux Falls in 1878, being the first railroad to reach that city.

In 1879 the branch road was built from Luverne to Doon, Iowa, 28 miles; the Pipestone branch was built from Heron Lake to Woodstock, 44 miles (later extended to Pipestone, 11 miles); and the Blue Earth City branch, from Lake Crystal to Blue Earth City, 34 miles, which was continued in 1880 to Elmore at the Iowa state line, 10 miles. With these, the St. Paul,

Stillwater and Taylor's Falls railroad, 28 miles, the Hudson and River Falls railroad, 12 miles, and the Omaha and Northern Nebraska railroad, 63 miles, were all merged into the St. Paul and Sioux City system, making now nearly 700 miles of connected railroad, including the extensions, completed in 1880, of the Sioux Falls road to Salem, South Dakota, 39 miles, of the Omaha and Northern Nebraska road from Oakland to Sioux City, 66 miles, and the Sioux City and Ponca road, 29 miles, a narrow gauge road which was purchased in 1879 and rebuilt in 1880.

In 1879 the St. Paul and Sioux City road had outgrown its shop accommodations at Shakopee, and, accepting an offer from the city of St. Paul of an eligible tract of forty acres within the city, near the north end of the Mississippi river railroad bridge, the construction of the various buildings was commenced; and in 1880 they were fully completed and equipped with the necessary machinery and tools, and a special branch track was constructed to connect them with the main line.

The conditions arising from the various and different arrangements that had been made from time to time for the construction of the two main divisions between St. Paul and Sioux City, and of the various branches and subsidiary lines, appeared to require a general consolidation of all the lines, and general readjustment, consolidation and reissue of the stock and bonds. This was effected as above stated, in 1879, in the corporate name of the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company, with the same officers and directors who had theretofore constructed and managed the properties.

This accomplished, the situation was greatly simplified, and general conditions moreover had much improved. The grasshoppers and the blizzards had passed into ancient history. The government lands had all been taken up by actual settlers, and our railroad lands were selling freely for settlement and cultivation; prosperous villages and cities were growing up rapidly, and the settlers were no longer destitute or dependent, but were in condition to give business and earnings to the road. Meantime, however, other roads were invading our territory from the east, and were compelling readjustment of rates and division of the business.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHICAGO, ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS AND OMAHA RAILWAY COMPANY.

It now became apparent that a closer and a permanent connection via St. Paul with Milwaukee and Chicago, and with Lake Superior, must be had; and the suggestion was made and considered of the purchase of, or merging with, the properties then known as the West Wisconsin and North Wisconsin railroads.

Messrs. Drake, Thompson and Merriam went to New York in January, 1880, to see what might be done to this end; but the sudden death of Mr. Thompson in that city on the 27th of that month interrupted and at last wholly changed our plans. What was finally done was to sell a majority of the St. Paul and Sioux City stock to a syndicate headed by Mr. H. H. Porter, of Chicago ,and composed of the principal owners of the Wisconsin properties. This was followed in the succeeding spring of 1880 by a general reorganization of all the properties under the name of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, under which name the lines are now owned and operated.

In the reorganization, several of the old St. Paul and Sioux City directors retired, and were replaced by new men, Mr. Porter becoming president of the new company. The writer remained with the new organization as general manager; and Mr. E. W. Winter was appointed general superintendent, and Mr. Francis B. Clarke, general traffic manager, their authority being extended over all lines embraced therein. During the summer of 1880 the site was purchased, and the general office building (now occupied) at Fourth and Rosabel streets, St. Paul, was erected. The Prince street freight yard and depot and the Spring street yard in this city were established; terminals in Minneapolis and Omaha were acquired and equipped; and the several extensions of various lines heretofore named, and others in Nebraska, were completed.

In connection with other roads, the St. Paul Union Depot Company was organized, and the original building was erected and the yards were established. These in the past twenty years have been twice enlarged and rearranged in the effort to accom-

modate and keep pace with the ever increasing business done there. A contract was made with the (now) Great Northern Railway Company, for the use of its tracks between St. Paul and Minneapolis, and for the use of the Union Depot in the last named city; and, after a general conference, an agreement was made between the city authorities of St. Paul and the several railroad companies, as to the building and subsequent maintenance of bridges where the railroad tracks and the city streets intersect. Under this agreement nearly all such intersections have been bridged as required from time to time.

With fresh capital available, and pursuing Mr. Porter's policy of making his road equal to the best, substantial improvements were made on the various lines to bring them up to his high standard, and new equipment to meet the increasing business was provided.

In April, 1881, the writer having taken a contract to construct a division of 140 miles of railway from Des Moines river to Council Bluffs in Iowa for the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, resigned his position as general manager, and, with much regret on his part, severed his relations with the enterprise to which for six years as chief engineer and eight years as general manager, he had given his best services.

RETROSPECT.

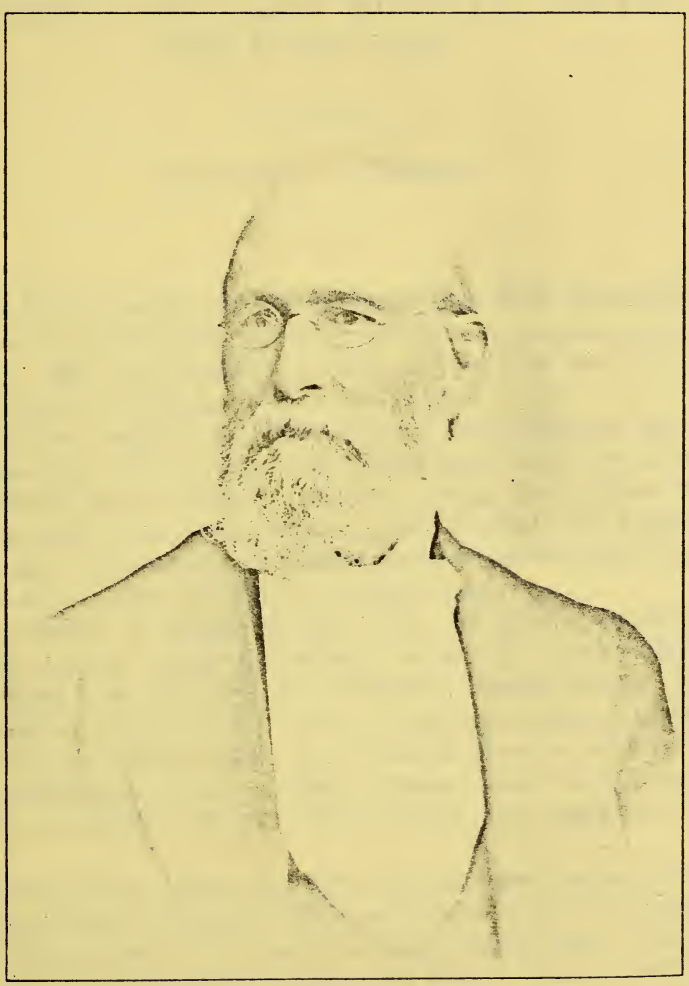
Now, twenty-two years later, I look back over that period of fourteen years with sincere satisfaction and pleasure. My relations with all the officers, directors, and employees of all the lines under my charge, were uniformly harmonious and cordial. No railroad or other corporation ever had a more loyal and efficient corps of employees; and the unique record was made for those fourteen years that "no passenger was ever killed or injured on this road."

Great advances and improvements have been made in the past twenty-two years in the material and construction of railways, and in the business of railroading. The Sioux City and St. Paul track was laid in part thirty-one years ago with iron rails at $93 per ton, paid for with eight per cent. bonds at 80 cents on the dollar. The road was constructed through a prairie

grass country, uninhabited and inaccessible until after the building of the road had redeemed it for the uses of civilized men.

The enterprise and courage and steadfast persistence of the men who in the beginning invested their private fortunes in it, and who through successive years of most discouraging experience maintained faith and hope until time should justify them, should be ever gratefully remembered by the citizens of Minnesota, and especially by those residing in the now most prosperous counties so splendidly served by the road under its present management.

If this imperfect sketch, written at the request of the Minnesota Historical Society, shall in any degree revive the memory of those men, most of whom have passed from earth, it will add to the pleasure and pride with which I have prepared and now submit it.



H. S. Fairchild

417.

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF REAL ESTATE IN ST. PAUL.*

BY HENRY S. FAIRCHILD.

St. Paul is located on land on the east side of the Mississippi river, ceded to the United States by the Ojibway Indians on January 29, 1837, and September 9, 1837, and on land west of the river, ceded by the Sioux, July 23 and August 5, 1851.

The first settler was Pierre Parrant, of malodorous fame, who has never been suspected of having posed before an artist as a model for an Adonis. Parrant, having been driven off his first claim, near Fountain cave, close to where the Omaha shops now are, made another claim between Jackson and Minnesota streets, from the river to Twelfth street.

It seemed as though Parrant, who had been a wanderer and an outcast, would permanently occupy this pretty claim overlooking the river; but when Benjamin Gervais offered him the munificent sum of $10 for it, it was not in human nature to resist, and Parrant sold. So he escaped the curse of becoming a millionaire, and of having a contest over his will; and by this transaction the real estate market was opened in St. Paul.

Closely after Parrant, in 1838 and 1839, came Abraham Perret (Anglicized to Perry), Pierre and Benjamin Gervais, Evans, Hays, Phelan, and Vital Guerin; in 1840, Joseph Rondo, Xavier De Mair, and Father Lucian Galtier, of blessed memory; and, in 1841, Father Ravoux and Pierre Bottineau. Many of these

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, May 11, 1903.

became dealers in real estate, and so connected themselves with my theme.

EARLY REAL ESTATE SALES.

These new settlers were wiser and more sagacious men than Parrant. They foresaw that the time would come, some day, when there would be a church and schoolhouse here, a tavern, and a blacksmith shop, frame instead of log houses, and perhaps, —who knows?—some day a population of several hundred people!

So De Mair, instead of selling his claim out on University avenue, near where the old car barn stood, for a paltry ten dollars, got a horse and wagon for it, and made another claim where Calvary cemetery is, and got for that a pair of horses.

Donald McDonald, who had made a claim where Desnoyer Park is, sold it to Stephen Desnoyer for a barrel of whiskey and two guns; and in 1843 Luther Furnell sold the 160 acres known to you all as "the Larpenteur farm," and later as "Kittsondale," to Lot Moffet for $100.

In the same year, 1843, John R. Irvine bought 300 acres, now Rice and Irvine's addition, for $300,—a property destined in his lifetime to become worth millions of dollars.

The only influence the most of these early squatters ever had on St Paul's destiny was that, being Catholics, they caused a Catholic mission to be established here, which made a nucleus around which others gathered, and which caused our name to be changed from "Pig's Eye" to St. Paul.

But now a more enterprising and intelligent class commences to come in, men who are destined to make their mark in the upbuilding of the city. Henry Jackson and Sergeant Richard W. Mortimer came in 1842; John R. Irvine, James W. Simpson, William Hartshorn, A. L. Larpenteur, Alex. R. McLeod, came in 1843, of whom only Larpenteur still lives. Long may he live!

Louis Robert and Charles Bazille came in 1844; Charles Cavalier and Jesse Pomroy in 1845; William H. Randall, Thomas S. Odell, and David Faribault, in 1846; and Major William H. Forbes, John Banfil, J. W. Bass, Benjamin W. Brunson, Ira B.

Brunson, Dr. John J. Dewey, and Simeon P. Folsom, in 1847. These men, all well known, who figure largely in the history of St. Paul, became more or less dealers in real estate. Many others came, whom my limited space compels me to omit.

The first deed on record in Ramsey county was from Henry Jackson to William Hartshorn, of date April 23, 1844, conveying for $1,000 one-half "of all the following tract or parcel of land lying and being in the County of St. Croix, Territory of Wisconsin, it being the place where the said Jackson now lives, and lying immediately on the Mississippi river, and known as St. Paul's Landing." This included certain buildings thereon. It contained three acres.

The city was not platted, so it could not be described by lots and blocks; and the land had not yet been surveyed by the government, so it could not be described as a subdivision of a section, township, and range. Jackson, the grantor, had no title, only a "squatter's claim." But woe to the man who on the frontiers attempts to "jump a claim," or at government sale to bid against the "squatter!"

After this sale of Jackson to Hartshorn, the real estate market was rather quiet, no further sale being recorded until June 16, 1846, nearly two years later, when Pierre Bottineau sold to Francis Chenevert and David Benoit 100 acres, "bounded as follows: On the east by Kittson, on the north by James R. Clewett, on the west by Hartshorn and Jackson, and on the south by Louis Robert." There was no further description; not even the county or territory was mentioned. The consideration of the deed was $300, or $3 per acre. It is now Whitney and Smith's addition, embracing the very heart of the wholesale district, and Seventh and Eighth streets, from Jackson to Broadway. It is worth today at least $3,000,000; just ten thousand times its cost. And here sits Larpenteur, who has witnessed all these wondrous changes. What an old, old man he must be!

Preceding this on the records is a mortgage to "H. H. Sibley, of Mendota, Clayton county, Iowa territory."

In several of the deeds made in 1847 and 1848, the properties sold are described as being certain lots in certain blocks "in the City of St. Paul;" and sometimes it is added, "as surveyed and platted by Ira B. Brunson," although no plat of St.

Paul was on record, and the only plat of the "City of St. Paul" now of record is one surveyed and platted by Benjamin W. Brunson in 1849.

As a matter of fact, the proprietors of the land (about ninety acres) embraced in the plat of "St. Paul Proper," as we now call it, sent to Prairie du Chien in 1847, for Ira B. Brunson to come up and survey and plat it, which he did; and with that survey the plat on record by Benjamin W. Brunson, in 1849, corresponds as to lots, blocks, etc. As the boys say, they were "too previous" in 1847, no government survey having been made, and they having no title, save a "squatter's claim."

INCREASE IN VALUES.

Let me now recite a few more sales of these early days, that I may refer to them at different periods to show the advances in values.

On September 13, 1847, Alex. R. McLeod sold to William C. Renfro sixty feet on Third street, through to Bench, just east of the Mannheimer block, on the corner of Third and Minnesota streets. The price of the sixty feet was $200. In 1857 it was worth $6,000! In 1887 is was worth $60,000. I put no value for the present time, lest I do an owner injustice. We all know that values on Third street have receded since 1887; and that on Sixth and Robert and other streets they have advanced.

On October 29, 1847, McLeod sold to William Hartshorn lot 1, block 33, on the southwest corner of Third and Minnesota streets, for $200. Ten years later it was worth twenty-five times its cost, and forty years later two hundred and fifty times its cost.

When smiling at the recollection that the men of those days paid three per cent. per month for money, remember that these advances in values from 1847 to 1857 were at the rate of 100, 200, 300, 400, or 500 per cent. per year, or sometimes much more. One would be a stoic, indeed, not to imbibe the spirit of speculation and to borrow, at even the high rate named, with the hope of such profit.

On April 10, 1848, Louis Robert sold to Henry C. Rhodes (note the description) "a tract beginning at the corner of Robert

St. 75 feet, and then parallel with 3d street until it strikes the line between lots 9 and 10 on Block No. 26." This is all the description. It doesn't say in what town or addition, what street corners with Robert, nor which corner, nor in what direction the line ran which was to be parallel with Third street. And this is only a sample of many such deeds.

On May 27, 1847 (recorded in 1848), David Faribault sold to A. L. Larpenteur for $62.50, "a piece [I quote literally] 22 yards fronting on the back of Jackson's fence, and adjoining La Roche on the north and D. Faribault on the south, running back to the middle of the ravine from Hartshorn's claim, being 22 yards front and 21 yards back, containing one acre more or less." Although so loose in description, they were very careful to retain all the ancient legal verbiage, and Larpenteur got "all the appurtenances, reversions, remainders, rents, issues, and profits thereof."

This is the property fronting about 66 feet on Third street, 300 on Jackson, and 63 feet on Fourth street, on part of which the Hale Block is located. Mr. Hale bought it October 21, 1865, for $30,000, an advance in price of $29,937.50 in eighteen years,—not counting the value of some old buildings on it, which he afterward removed. In 1887 the same ground without buildings was worth $100,000. As a matter of fact, Larpenteur sold to Faribault a horse for $80, and got this property and $17.50 cash, making the cost of the ground $62.50. But how old was that horse? What was he worth? It isn't certain that Larpenteur really gave more than $20 or $30 for the ground.

In 1848 the market became more active, thirty-five sales having been made.

On January 21, 1848, McLeod sold to S. J. Findley, of St. Peter's (Mendota), Iowa Territory, the lot where the News office now is, and two lots on Minnesota street, south of the Germania Life Building, for $50. It was a good place to put $50, and hold the property.

On April 14, 1848, McLeod sold to Jackson the northeast corner lot of Third and Minnesota streets for $47.50. It fronted 80 feet on Third and 50 feet on Minnesota. Ten years later it was worth $5,000 or $6,000, at the least, or more than one hundred times its cost to Jackson; and in 1887 it was worth $40,000 to $50,000.

Here is an example of changes in values. On the 15th of June, 1848, only one year before Governor Ramsey and William P. Murray came here, Louis Robert sold to B. W. Brunson three lots on the northwest corner of Robert and Fifth streets, where the Milwaukee railway ticket office now is, for $30, or $10 per lot, worth today $125,000 to $150,000, or five thousand times what Brunson paid. Property on Third street was then worth five times as much as on Robert street, but now only one-fifth as much.

You will bear in mind that the land here was surveyed by the government in 1848 (the same year in which these lots were sold), and that it had been bought at $1.25 per acre; so that six lots (an acre) at $10 per lot, or $60 per acre, was a good profit in a few months on the $1.25 investment.

Here is a land sale with a lesson. October 21, 1848, Richard Freeborn sold to Henry Jackson forty-eight acres, now a part of Stinson, Brown and Ramsey's addition, near the Omaha shops, for $100, or about two dollars per acre. At a very conservative estimate this land (now city lots) is at present worth $2,000 per acre, or about one thousand times its cost; yet it has been sold and mortgaged so often that the abstracts often contain over a hundred numbers, and these abstracts, and the attorney's fees for examining titles in case of each sale or mortgage, have cost more than the property is now worth! What an argument for the Torrens system of transfer of real estate!

November 14, 1848, after the survey, John R. Irvine sold to Henry M. Rice eighty acres just west of St. Peter street, now a part of Rice and Irvine's addition, for $3 per acre. It was platted the next year, and was sold at the rate of $300 to $500 per acre. Both Irvine and Rice lived to see it worth millions of dollars.

December 22, 1848, Louis Robert sold to David Olmsted and H. C. Rhodes 100 by 100 feet on the southeast corner of Fourth and Robert streets for $200,—or $100 per lot of 50 by 100 feet. This was 100 per cent at least over the price in the previous year. Without buildings it would now be cheap at $100,000,—and around me are men who saw it sell for $200!

January 10, 1849, Louis Robert sold to Stephen Desnoyer lots 6, 7, and 8, block 25, St. Paul Proper, for $100. These lots are now covered by the ten-story Germania Life Building.

Here is a land sale worth noting. On January 8, 1849, James McBoal sold to John R. Irvine the undivided third of the northeast quarter of section 1, township 28, range 23, for $500. This is about $10 per acre. It is now a part of Dayton and Irvine's addition, embracing the very heart of the best part of our residence district, and one single front foot of it on Summit avenue has sold for $500,—just what Irvine paid for a third of the whole tract.

I want now to call your attention to a few sales in 1850, '51, and '52, to show advances in value, and how these advances accord with increase in population.

October 9, 1850, Louis Robert sold to Charles Cavalier the west half of lot 13, block 25, of the "City of St. Paul," for $350 (at the rate of $700 per lot). It had been sold in 1848 for $50, so that the advance was 1,300 per cent in two years.

April 19, 1851, Vital Guerin sold to William G. Le Duc, whom I see present here tonight, lot 1, block 34, of the City of St. Paul, fronting on Third, Wabasha, and Bench streets, now covered by the Ingersoll Block, for $900. This was a good advance on $50, the price at which it sold two years before. Still it was an excellent purchase, as Le Duc sold it in three or four years for $7,500.

No government surveys of lands in Ramsey county had been made prior to 1848, and all previous sales of lands or lots were simply of "squatter's claims." The situation was becoming awkward.

FIRST LEGAL TITLES IN ST. PAUL PROPER.

The government having made surveys in 1848, those having "claims" in the ninety acres covered by the unrecorded plat of the "City of St. Paul," made by Ira B. Brunson in 1847, appointed H. H. Sibley, A. L. Larpenteur, and Louis Robert, as commissioners to bid off the land at the first government land sale in what is now Minnesota, made August 14, 1848, at St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin. H. H. Sibley, for the commissioners, surrounded by twenty or thirty lusty fellows with bludgeons, as warning to all that it would be dangerous for any one to bid against him, bought what is now "St. Paul Proper," as we call it, for the minimum government price of

$1.25 per acre; and he, with the other commissioners, Larpenteur and Robert, made the apportionment in lots and blocks to the "claimants," according to their respective interests.

Though the climate here is regarded as very healthy, as certified by Dr. Ohage, and attested by the tables of mortality, it was, in pioneer days, found to be insalubrious by those who at land sales bid against the "squatters."

And now we find in the office of the register of deeds for Ramsey county, as the first entry on the records of town plats, that the City of St. Paul, in the County of St. Croix, State of Wisconsin, was platted February 28, 1849, by Louis Robert, Henry Jackson, Charles Cavalier, Henry H. Sibley, Vital Guerin, J. W. Bass, August L. Larpenteur, William Henry Forbes, J. W. Simpson, A. C. Rhodes, L. H. La Roche, and John B. Coty.

In the copy of the plat, the heading is "City of St. Paul, the Capital of Minnesota;" but that was not the name, and St. Poul was not the capital of Minnesota, and was not then in Minnesota, but in Wisconsin, as Minnesota did not then exist. In the original plat is this indorsement:

Office of the Register of Deeds for Ramsey County, Minnesota.—ss.

I hereby certify that the within map of St. Paul was filed in this office for record (in accordance with an act of the legislature of the State of Minnesota, approved Feb. 14, 1866) on the 17th day of March, A. D. 1866, at 3 o'clock p. m., and was duly recorded in Book G of Town Plats, page 13. JACOB MAINZER, Register of Deeds.

To this act of the legislature I will refer later in this paper. There is also an indorsement on the plat:

This is the original plat of Lower St. Paul, Minn. Territory.
August, 1849. C. K. SMITH, Secretary of the Territory.

This certificate was worthless and misleading, in that it did not give the true name of the plat. I have gone into detail as to this plat, because it was of "St. Paul Proper," as we now call it, the first plat in the city, now the heart of the business district.

Neither the acknowledgement of the plat by the proprietors, nor the certificate of the surveyor, mentions the county or territory, the section, township, or range, in which the city is located. And this is true of Whitney and Smith's, Rice and Ir-

vine's, Leech's, Bazille and Guerin's, Hoyt's, Paterson's, Joel Whitney's, and Willes' additions; and in several instances the proprietors do not even sign the plats, and so do not dedicate the streets, alleys, and parks. Yet for years the attorneys examined and passed and purchasers took titles in them.

Of course, we understand that the sale of a lot according to a plat by the proprietor is a recognition of the plat; and that the law presumes a dedication for public use of all streets, alleys, parks, etc., marked on the plat; also that, in the language of the law, "id certum est quod certum reddi potest,"—"that is certain which can be made certain." So if you can definitely and positively locate a point on the plat, and have directions and distances given, you can ascertain the boundaries of the plat and locate and define the lots; but most of us can have enough lawsuits without buying them.

So after the lapse of sixteen or seventeen years the legislature passed the curative act referred to, on the 11th of February, 1866, which reads as follows:

Chapter 90, Special Laws of 1866.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

Section 1. The plat now in the register's office of the county of Ramsey, headed "City of St. Paul," and upon which is written, "This is the original plat of lower Saint Paul, Minnesota Territory, Aug., 1849. C. K. Smith, Secretary of Territory," together with the certificate of acknowledgment thereto annexed, purporting to be signed by "David Lambert" and "Benj. W. Brunson," justices of the peace, and by H. Jackson and others, is hereby directed to be filed by the register of said county in his office, and, when so filed, is to be a public record, and the said register is also directed to record said plat and certificate, and such record is to have the same effect as other public records, and certified copies thereof shall be admissible in evidence in all courts of this State, as well as said original plat and the record thereof.

Sec. 2. All plats on file in said register's office, purporting to dedicate lands to public use for streets, highways or other public purposes, shall be admissable in evidence without further proof, and shall be *prima facie* evidence of such dedication, and no action shall be entertained to question such purported dedication, unless comhenced within two years after the passage of this act: *Provided*, That this act shall not apply to any actions now pending against said city.

And thus, after seventeen years, this bungling work in platting was remedied by legislative enactment.

It is very interesting to note that here, on the very borders of civilization, is a little group of men platting lands for a city (which lands were but yesterday surveyed and entered, and the day before belonged to the Indians) on a scale that argued a most remarkable sagacity; and that three of this little group should become governors of the future state (Sibley, Ramsey, and Marshall); that another of them should afterward represent us in Congress (Edmund Rice); that two of them should become United States senators (Ramsey and H. M. Rice); one of them a member of the president's cabinet and another the U. S. commissioner of agriculture (Ramsey and Le Duc); and yet another, then recording these deeds, a United States senator (M. S. Wilkinson).

We are now entering upon an eventful year, 1849, when wide areas are platted as St. Paul, and its various additions; and the people are full of expectance. Goodhue in the Minnesota Pioneer, just established, is urging the immediate construction of a railroad from St. Louis via St. Paul, to the Red river, and another from the Gulf of Mexico via St. Paul to Hudson bay.

In most curious juxtaposition with this article, is another editorial felicitating the 800 citizens of St. Paul on the fact that a pump has now been put in a well in the lower town, so that our citizens hereafter will not be dependent upon river water. As their little "shoe-box postoffice" is to our present magnificent postoffice, so is this pump to our present magnificent water system.

On October 25, 1849, H. M. Rice sold to Lyman Dayton a one-third interest in the northeast quarter of section 1, township 28, range 23, now Dayton and Irvine's addition, for $4,000. Rice bought it one year before for $500, so that he made 700 per cent profit; and yet what a splendid purchase for Dayton! A single front foot of Summit avenue, south of Selby, part of this land, is now worth, as stated before, nearly as much as Rice paid for the whole tract.

Mr. Rice's name suggests a little story told me by Mr. William H. Tinker, a worthy old settler, to whom I am indebted for an excellent letter on early days. Rice was a man of generous nature, and, pleased with the services rendered by his

attorney, W. D. Phillips, made him a present of a valuable lot. When Phillips rendered his acount at the end of the year, Rice was surprised to find Phillips had charged him $5 for drawing the deed to the identical lot he had given him.

May 12, 1849, Vital Guerin sold to Frederick Ely, lot 12, block 23, of St. Paul proper, for $150. This is on Third street, between Wabasha and Cedar streets. You will remember that one year previous lots there were selling at $10 to $50,— a good advance.

In June, 1849, Rice was selling lots in Rice and Irvine's addition, just platted, at $75 to $125 per lot, which is at the rate of $300 to $500 per acre, for what cost him the previous year $3 per acre! In fact, he sold a lot to Charles F. Rittenhouse in August, 1849, for $350, which a year before had cost him $3 per acre, or 75 cents per lot. That is 466 times its cost!

I am putting exclamation points at the ends of these sentences, but how can I help it? Every statement of real estate history from 1849 to 1857 deserves an exclamation point. Much of the property sold in 1849 paid a profit of 100 per cent per month over prices in 1848.

THE GRAND OLD PIONEERS.

Time and again I have been struck with the fact that a large per cent of our pioneers, the men who figured in our history from 1849 to 1853, were men of markedly superior abilities. Let me relieve you for a minute from a recital of sales by enumerating some of them, and then tell me, if you can, where else you ever saw as large a percentage of a population equal to them.

Listen to this list: Alexander Ramsey, H. M. Rice, Edmund Rice, H. H. Sibley, Rev. E. D. Neill, Judge R. R. Nelson, George L. Becker, D. A. Robertson, Earle S. Goodrich, James M. Goodhue, Major William H. Forbes, Judge Moses Sherburne, John W. North, Judge David Cooper, Gen. Isaac Van Etten, David Olmsted, Gen. William G. Le Duc, William Hollinshead, Michael E. Ames, John B. Brisbin, W. S. Combs, George W. Armstrong, Judge D. A. J. Baker, Charles H. Oakes, Charles W. W. Borup, N. P. Langford, Major Nathaniel McLean, Horace R. Bigelow, Capt. Edwin Bell, A. L. Larpenteur, John P.

Owens, Capt. Russell Blakeley, William L. Ames, H. F. Masterson, Col. John Farrington, Gov. William R. Marshall, Robert A. Smith, Capt. Peter Berkey, J. C. Burbank, Dr. David Day, B. W. Brunson, David Lambert, William H. Randall, Joseph R. Brown, Nathan Myrick, Judge Lafayette Emmett, Lyman Dayton, Judge A. G. Chatfield, Judge William H. Welsh, S. P. Folsom, William P. Murray, Morton S. Wilkinson, Col. John S. Prince, Judge Charles E. Flandrau, Dr. Thomas Foster, Pennock Pusey, Joseph A. Wheelock, and Willis A. Gorman.

We have noted the platting of the city of St. Paul, February 28, 1849. Now followed several additions ,in quick succession.

Whitney and Smith's addition was by Cornelius S. Whitney and Robert Smith, of Illinois, July 24, 1849; and the same was platted February 11, 1852, by Bushrod W. Lott, Joel E. Whitney, John F. Butterworth, Daniel A. J. Baker, Charles T. Whitney, and Martha, his wife, and Eliza L. Whitney.

Rice and Irvine's addition was by Henry M. Rice and John R. Irvine, July 2, 1849. They reserved all water rights.

Leech's addition was by Samuel Leech, August 23, 1849.

Bazille and Guerin's addition was by Charles Bazille and Vital Guerin, November 4, 1850. This was the only addition platted in 1850.

They had platted quickly nearly all this basin from Goodrich street in the West Seventh street district clear down to Dayton's bluff, and then seemed to stop, to hesitate, to reflect. Who should occupy this vast territory already platted? The situation was not inviting—most of it was boggy. The climate was severe. There was no way to come here except by boats, and this for only half the year.

"What do we know," I imagine I hear them saying, "of the extent of the tributary country, of its productive capacity, or what it will produce? How do we know but that, remote as we are, the Indians may rise and massacre our people? Are we not the victims of self-deception? Have we not suffered our fancies to make fools of us?"

They had dreamed they were platting what would be a great metropolitan city, that all their thousands and thousands of lots would be needed for habitations and for the multifarious kinds of

business, the sales of which would greatly enrich them. Now their confidence and their courage wavered, and their bright hopes began to die out, and they suspected they had committed an act of stupendous folly.

A VISION OF THE FUTURE.

While they were thus counselling together as to the future, I imagine I see the Genius of Geography, in vast and misty form, appearing before them, and, with uplifted finger, saying, "Hesitate not! Men, for want of comprehension of the force of geographic facts, often build cities which flourish for a time and then decay. But there are points on all continents where cities are sure to rise and flourish and grow with the centuries. Of these St. Paul is one. Hesitate not! Lay here deep and broad the foundations of a city which is destined to be one of the foremost on the continent.

"The wonderful Mississippi valley, a vast region, equaled nowhere in the world in extent and productiveness, lying in a zone that produces an infinite variety of grains, fruits, vegetables, cotton and sugar cane, stretches between the Eastern and Western mountain ranges, from the Lakes to the Gulf. Through this matchless, imperial garden of the world, flows the kingly Mississippi, with its princely tributaries. Here, at the head of navigation of this great arterial river, lay you the foundations of your city. Some day its channels shall be narrowed and deepened, and it shall bear on its bosom a vast commerce.

"Build in the midst of this beautiful scenery, where lakes and rivers and waterfalls begem the landscape! Build in this healthy climate, where the tonic atmosphere inspires to great enterprises and heroic achievements. And plan all things broadly! For I see clearly a city which in the future shall far surpass your largest conceptions.

"I see great railways from every direction gathering here, pouring wealth into your lap. I see science transforming all your water powers into electric energy to transport people and freight, to drive all machinery, and to illuminate your buildings and streets. I see factories springing up that will darken your heavens in the day and illuminate the night. I see a commerce

developing, so vast, so far-reaching, and yet expanding, as to awaken fear and jealousy in the ancient marts of trade on the Atlantic.

"I see this valley resounding with traffic, and the heights that environ you crowned with beautiful homes, palatial residences, and majestic public edifices that equal those of cities on which the moss of centuries rests. Fear not! You have planned not broadly enough.

"I see all this territory between where we stand and the Falls of St. Anthony dotted with literary, theological, and agricultural colleges, and covered with an intelligent, cultured, and moral population.

"I would not tax your faith too much, but I look upon the boundless region to the west which I have made irrevocably and forever tributary to you, and see its future population and production; and I predict that within your borders more than a million people shall dwell ere the first half of the twentieth century shall have passed.

"I see in the near future two heroic figures arise whose genius for affairs shall unlock for them the treasuries of the world, to enable them to build a network of railroads over the western part of the continent. Each has the hundred eyes of Argus, and the hundred arms of Briareus. They see the golden grain waving on the great, broad, boundless, billowy plains to your west, and out go their iron arms to gather it all up and lay it in your lap.

"They glance at Montana, to be, and with their hundred wizard eyes, they see the buried treasures of silver and gold in her mountains ,and the multiplied thousands of sheep and cattle grazing on her plains; and with their iron arms, these, too, are brought in to enrich you.

"Nature has reared in vain the mighty ranges of mountains to protect against their rapacity the Pacific coast. Villard and Hill will burst through the Rocky mountains, spy out the salmon fisheries, the vast Red Tree forests, and all the wealth of fields and streams and forests and mines on that seemingly secure coast; and out will again go their hundred arms to bring all in to you, to still further enrich you.

"Hill, with insatiable ambition, looks out over the western

waters, and sees Australia, Ceylon, China and Japan, and India, with their hundreds of millions of inhabitants, whose rich commerce has made possible all the great cities on the Mediterranean coasts in ancient and modern times, and he builds great ships, such as never before vexed the bosom of the mild Pacific, to go and gather up this rich trade of the opulent Orient and lay it as a crowning gift in the lap of St. Paul, that this city may fulfil its destiny, and be the great interior city of the continent.

"Once again I charge you, lay deep and broad the foundations, for your children's children shall see here a city whose population, beauty, wealth, commerce, manufactures, schools and colleges, and noble charities, shall surpass your most sanguine expectations."

THE PLATTING OF ADDITIONS.

And then these pioneers, the Rices, Robert, Irvine, Dayton, Guerin, Bazille, Marshall, Whitney, Tinker, Hoyt, Winslow, Ramsey, Kittson, Brunson, and all, with renewed courage, sent out their surveyors to plat yet wider areas for the great city they had heard so confidently predicted.

So in 1851 there were platted, successively, Hoyt's addition, by B. F. Hoyt, January 9; Vanderburg's addition to Hoyt's addition, April 7; Irvine's enlargement of Rice and Irvine's addition, July 19; Paterson's addition, by Rev. A. B. Paterson, August 3; Willes' addition, by Charles L. Willes, September 12; Joel Whitney's addition, by Joel Whitney and D. A. J. Baker, September 29; and Winslow's addition, by James M. Winslow, October 20. In all seven additions were made in 1851, as against one in 1850.

With unabated courage they proceeded to plat in 1852 as follows: Kittson's addition, by C. W. W. Borup, May 1; Brunson's addition, by B. W. Brunson, July 13; Bass' addition, by J. W. Bass, September 23; Hoyt's Outlots, by B. F. Hoyt, October 20; and Robert and Randall's addition, by John Randall and Louis Robert, December 7. Thus five additions were made in 1852.

In 1853 the number of additions platted was six; in 1854, eleven; in 1855, six; in 1856, twenty-nine; and in 1857, twenty-

five. Stop and think of it! It is enough to take one's breath, their pace was so rapid! Fifty-four additions platted in two years!

The Genius of Geography had strongly impressed them! And they were in the main right. The great city was to be; but the potency of time was necessary to the realization of their gorgeous dreams. They had not considered that periods of depression and stagnation, even retrogression, would take place and so postpone the accomplishment of their schemes.

We have seen the increased activity in platting. Now let us see how the number of sales in this same series of years compares with it.

The records of Ramsey county show one sale of real estate in 1844; none in 1845; one in 1846; eleven in 1847, when only 50 people were here; 35 in 1848; 175 in 1849, with 940 people here; 196 in 1850, with a population of 1,294 by the census; 786 in 1851; 939 in 1852; 1,165 in 1853; 1,872 in 1854; 2,560 in 1855, with a population of 4,716, there being thus more than half as many sales as there were people; 2,798 sales in 1856, with 6,000 people; and 790 sales in 1857, the population then being 9,937. With what leaps and bounds they advanced!

In 1849 "The City of St. Paul" and several large additions were platted, and the sales were 175. In 1856, seven years later, the number of sales was 2,798. What days these were for surveyors and real estate agents, over eight sales per day the year's average, being more than now, when we have thirty times the population!

Some of these additions are the farthest outlying plats we have today (Except the Midway plats), viz,; "Washington Heights," in Dakota county; "Glen Toro," near lake Thoreau. or Sunfish lake, five miles south of us; "Iglehart, Hall and Mackubin's addition," near lake Phalen (now "Eastville Heights" and "Oakville Park"); and "St. Paul Park," on lake Josephine. Evidently they thought that the predicted million inhabitants would be here before the twentieth century commenced.

Besides all this, they platted the town of "De Soto," halfway between St. Paul and Stillwater; "Glencarrie," and other towns, in which never has a house been built, and which long ago were vacated and turned again into farms.

REAL ESTATE AGENTS.

It goes without saying that, with only thirteen sales up to 1848, and thirty-five in 1848, there were no real estate agents before 1849. Then they began to make their appearance, but were mostly lawyers, taking real estate agency as a side issue. It has generally been understood, and I believe it is so stated in some of the histories of the city, that Charles R. Conway was the first to hang out his shingle as a real estate agent in 1849, but I am inclined to think that David Lambert was the first.

I find in Volume 1, No. 1, of the Minnesota Pioneer, the first issue of the first paper published in St. Paul, Lambert's card in French, as "Avocat en droit, et Agent des terres" (Lawyer and Land Agent).

A little later, June 14, 1849, Bushrod W. Lott's card appeared in the same paper as Lawyer and Land Agent, and he acted as agent of Whitney and Smith for sale of lots in their addition. In the next month, July, B. F. Irvine advertised lots in Rice and Irvine's addition; and in the next month, August, W. D. Phillips' card appeared, as Lawyer and Land Agent.

Soon afterward William P. Murray advertised as agent for the sale of Louis Robert's realty, and so he is entitled to the high honor of having once been a real estate agent. As he was here practicing law at that early day, it is probable that in the "Great Day of Reckoning" he will be held accountable for having examined and passed some of the defective titles heretofore referred to.

November 14, 1850, Judge R. R. Nelson's card appeared as lawyer and land agent, and as having for sale lots in Leech's addition.

From all this list of real estate agents it is obvious that a market had opened in 1849 and 1850; but much of it must have been in lands in adjacent counties.

Returning to the not very important but much discussed question as to who was the first agent, I will say that if any one can claim priority in that line over Lambert, it would be B. F. Hoyt, or "Father Hoyt," as we all called him. Mr. Hoyt came here in 1848, and was soon actively engaged as a speculator

and land and loan agent. He platted "Suburban Hills," "Hoyt's Addition," and "Hoyt's Outlots," bought and sold thousands of acres near the city, and narrowly escaped becoming a millionaire. He once told me that he "had three times been saved from being a millionaire by the grace of God." He may have felt "really and truly" grateful for "this great salvation," but we are sometimes unconsciously self-deceived. If Father Hoyt had become a millionaire, doubtless he would have thanked God for the millions and used them as generously as he always did that which he had.

RIVALRY BETWEEN THE UPPER AND THE LOWER TOWN.

As soon as our pioneers had platted their respective additions, a warfare broke out between the upper and the lower town, as bitter as ever was waged between St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The first struggle was over the capitol site, Henry M. Rice and quite an array of strong men seeking to have it located somewhere near the "Seven Corners." Robert, Randall, Bazille, and others, sought to locate it in the lower town. They tried to persuade Charles Bazille to donate to the state the block on which the old capitol now stands; but he thought it hardly fair that he should bear the whole burden, even though it did, as they said, enhance the value of his other property. So Vital Guerin, Major William H. Forbes, Louis Robert, and John Randall, all of whom had large interests to be affected, agreed, in consideration of his deeding said block to the state, that they would each deed to him certain lots, which was done. Bazille deeded the block to the State, not specifying that it was for a capitol, or any special purpose, or on any condition, but by a straight, clean, unconditional deed.

This struggle was hardly over before another arose over the steamboat landing. Originally it was at the lower landing, but J. C. Burbank built a good covered dock at the upper levee, and John R. Irvine built a large warehouse there. The Minnesota river boats, of which several for a number of years were regularly run by Capt. Edwin Bell, Louis Robert, and others, made their landings at the upper levee; and for some time it looked as

though the upper levee was to be the principal steamboat landing. But after a while J. C. Burbank removed his dock to the lower levee, railroads were built through the Minnesota river valley, taking the trade from the river, which later ceased to be navigable, and the lower levee became the steamboat landing of St. Paul. From all I can learn from the old settlers, it was always the principal landing.

It will interest the old settlers and pioneers, at least, to recall the leaders in the contests alluded to. The major general of the upper town forces was Henry M. Rice, and by his side stood John R. Irvine, C. L. Emerson, John Farrington, George Culver, H. F. Masterson, William Hollinshead, George L. Becker, Levi Sloan, the Fuller brothers, and the Elfelt brothers. The down town leaders were William H. Randall, C. W. W. Borup, C. H. Oakes, N. W. Kittson, William H. Forbes, A. L. Larpenteur, W. P. Murray, Louis Robert, Aaron Goodrich, Lot Moffet, W. C. Morrison, B. F. Hoyt, Lyman Dayton, J. W. Bass, and Charles Cave. There was thus an array of strong, active men on each side. Some of these were not here in time to take part in the first contests.

Of the additions platted in the years 1849 to 1852, eleven were in the lower town and four in the upper town. I find, too, that the early sales were largely in the lower town. As the lower town had this start, and as presumably they would plat most where demand for lots was most expected, I take it that the lower town had the larger population and the most business during all those early years.

I am confirmed in this opinion by an inspection of the Annals of the Historical Society for 1851, in the back part of which is a business directory, which clearly shows that the major part of the city's business was below Wabasha street. The city directory for 1856 shows the same, and it is a safe statement and prediction that below Wabasha street has always been, and always will be, the business district of St. Paul, and that the principal residence district will always be in the west end.

All this, and the changes of business from Third street to Sixth, Seventh, and other streets, and the change of residence centers from Eighth street between Jackson and Sibley, from the

corner of Sixth and Broadway, from lower Eighth and Ninth streets, from Woodward avenue and vicinity, and from Dayton's bluff, to a final resting place, St. Anthony hill, are legitimate and easily deducible results of the topography of the city. The first man to foresee these changes and predict them was A. Vance Brown, whose warning to Horace Thompson not to build on Woodward avenue many of you will remember.

At the Seven Corners, in 1857, when I first came here, stood the Winslow House, and near the corner of Third and Exchange streets, the American, both well patronized. There was a certain tone of respectability and an intellectual atmosphere about these hotels that impressed one favorably; and in that district were a number of banks, the theater, and quite a number of stores. At a casual glance, one was likely to think that that was the center of business in the city; and so for a time I thought, but a scrutiny of the facts showed that judgment to be wrong.

More and more business has moved down town, and more and more population has moved up town. Much property within a few blocks of Seven Corners will not sell for as much as it would forty-five years ago; while property on Robert, Wabasha, Sixth, and Seventh streets, will sell for two hundred times as much as then. It will amuse you to know that the first dry goods store in St. Paul was on Eagle street, near the river!

As to residence property in the two districts (the upper and the lower town), the foregoing statement could be nearly reversed. As certainly as the lower town will always be the principal business district, so certain is it that the upper town will always be the main residence district, owing to its topography, to the broad liberal spirit and taste of those who platted the principal additions, to its situation between the two cities, and to the centralization of educational institutions in the Midway district.

LAND DISPUTES SETTLED BY UNIQUE METHODS.

The disputes with regard to titles and boundary lines in those pioneer days were quickly settled. A case in point was a dispute as to a boundary between William L. Ames, Sr., and

Lyman Dayton. They were engaged in a heated controversy at the foot of Dayton's bluff, where are now, and were then, large springs, and a long, deep watering trough. Dayton grew hot in the dispute, and Ames, feeling that the matter should be coolly dicussed, picked Dayton up and laid him in the trough of cold spring water, after which the matter was easily adjusted.

A dispute as to who first made his claim and erected his shanty on a tract down by "Pig's Eye lake" arose between Michael Le Claire, of Mendota and Pierre Parrant. To settle it they went before H. H. Sibley, justice of the peace at Mendota, but he told them his jurisdiction only extended from the west side of the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains, and that Joe Brown was justice of the peace from Point Prescott to lake Superior, and that, as the land in question was east of the river, they must go to him. They did so. Brown heard the evidence, each swearing that he had made his claim first, as they may have honestly thought. Our modern Solomon, unable to decide from the evenly balanced testimony, went out, made a stake, which with an ax he laid at one corner of the claim, took Le Claire and Parrant in his wagon, drove away about twelve miles, and then told them to strip off their coats and race for the stake. The one who reached it first, and with the ax drove down the stake, should have the land. They did so, and Le Claire beat. Parrant accepted the decision and moved off.

Only recently the assignees of the heirs of Parrant related the case to an attorney, who told them no such method of adjudicating a land title was known to our laws, and that he could set it aside. Suit was brought in the district court, which upheld Brown's decision, holding that their assent to the amicable method of settlment was evidenced by their making the race, and by Parrant having voluntarily abandoned the claim. But Parrant's attorney, not satisfied with this, carried the case to the supreme court, which sustained the lower court, and the wisdom of Solomon No. 2 was vindicated.

Here is an extract from a letter of date July, 1850, written by William G. Le Duc to his wife. He was evidently thinking of moving to St. Paul, and had been "house hunting." He wrote: "Rent for a little shanty, one-story, two rooms, N. E. corner

Robert and Third, is $9.00 per month. Town lots selling for $200 and $300. Money commands 4 and 5 per cent per month. There are only about 1,000 permanent settlers now, but the population increases rapidly and it is destined to became a great city. The other day at Mendota I heard a party of Sioux Indians, who in full dress toggery were sitting on the bank as our steamer approached, chant a song of welcome to us."

SOME OF ST. PAUL'S LOYAL EULOGISTS.

Among the multitudinous real estate agents, there are a few whose memories will be long cherished, and who are thoroughly identified with our city's history. Such was the ardent, irascible, erratic, broad-guaged, generous-hearted Henry McKenty.

Another was Col. Girard Hewitt, a tall, handsome, senatorial-looking gentlemen, an inimitable story-teller, the discoverer of the "Midway District." That is, he was more sagacious than the rest of us, first saw and industriously proclaimed its great future, and made large and profitable investments there. He persistently and ably wrote up the city and state, and did much in this way, and as state immigration commissioner, to attract capital and population to Minnesota and St. Paul.

In ante-railroad days he and I wrote up, in home and eastern papers, this state and the Dakotas, their soil, climate, scenery, etc., knowing that the sure basis of the city's growth was the settlement of the tributary country. When the railroads came in and got their land grants, they advertised these states in order to sell their lands, and we gave our attention wholly to the city's interests.

At one time a number of old settlers died in quick succession. Col. Hewitt came into my office soon afterward, looking very solemn, and asked if he could see me privately. I went aside with him, and with grave aspect and deep voice he said, "Mr. Fairchild, have you noticed how many old settlers have dropped out recently?" I said I had, very many of them. "Do you ever stop to think that in the course of events you and I must go soon?" I said that before many years we would all be gone.

Then, straightening himself up to his full six feet, with measured, deep, solemn voice, he said: "Mr. Fairchild, do you ever reflect that when you and I go up before the great white throne, to answer for all the deeds done in the body, we have an awful account to render for all the lies we have written about the climate of Minnesota?" And then, with a "Good day, sir," he strode out.

One day I introduced him to a gentleman from the East on his first visit here. Hewitt greeted him with his accustomed cordial, yet dignified manner, and asked him how he liked our young city and state. He replied, "Very well indeed, so far as I have seen, but I suppose it is very cold in winter here?" Hewitt, with an air of great dignity, said: "Cold! It is true, it is sometimes somewhat cool in winter, yet we have the best climate in the world, sir. Spring comes with a freshness of verdure and purity of atmosphere that make existence a delight. Our summers are glorious. Our autumns, with their soft, hazy, langorous atmosphere, and with all the scenery glorified by the gold and crimson glow of the trees and shrubbery, are beyond expression beautiful. But our winters, sir, are the crowning glory of the year, sometimes somewhat cool, it's true, but never any wind,—occasionally a gentle perturbation of the atmosphere!" Then our laugh came in, and Hewitt and the stranger were at once on a good footing.

Col. J. W. McClung, a chevalier-looking gentleman, a son of Judge McClung, of Kentucky, closely related to Chief Justice Marshall, a nephew of the gallant Col. Alex. McClung, of Mississippi, who was a distinguished soldier and orator and famous duelist, was another devoted and thoroughly loyal friend of St. Paul and Minnesota, and freely used a graceful and forceful pen in championing their interests. McClung held and honorably filled many city and county offices, and was the author of a book on "Minnesota," which was a good immigration document.

Col. J. H. Davidson wielded a good, strong pen, and was largely instrumental, as editor and real estate agent, in attracting population and capital to St. Paul, and for many years held one of the leading places in the real estate ranks. He

was really a brilliant orator, not fully appreciated when here, but has since achieved a national reputation.

Tracy M. Metcalf wrote well in our behalf, but used his pen too sparingly.

There is one other I must not omit to mention, for he deserves well of St. Paul. I will have to impose a restraint on myself when speaking of Thomas Cochran, for my admiration of his abilities and appreciation of his services to St. Paul are such that it will be hard to refrain from using superlatives. So I will only say that, among all the real estate agents of St. Paul from 1849 to the present time, no other one has by public speech at home and throughout the East, by articles in our local papers and in many of the eastern states, by his championship of our interests in the Chamber of Commerce and in other public assemblies, deserved so large a measure of St. Paul's gratitude.

Our city is greatly indebted to the brilliant galaxy of editors who have made it famous for its journalism. Some of these never became specially interested in the city's growth and so are not mentioned here, but were strong, vigorous, graceful writers and made good newspapers. No doubt I omit some who are entitled to grateful mention.

James M. Goodhue, the first editor of the first paper published here, the Minnesota Pioneer, was a brilliant writer, and never ceased for a day to write in favor of St. Paul and Minnesota, to zealously advocate all measures in their interest, to herald what they had done, and predict the brilliant future he foresaw for them. He instilled his courage, confidence, and enthusiasm into all who read the Pioneer; and no doubt every issue was instrumental in adding to our population.

H. P. Hall, in his Dispatch and in his Globe (he started both), ably and industriously championed our interests, constantly paraded the great things St. Paul had accomplished, and predicted her great future. He was always ready to contribute his full share of labor or money to make the prediction good.

T. M. Newson, Louis Fisher, S. B. Woolworth, Ed. Johnson, E. B. Northrup, J. Fletcher Williams, and J. H. Davidson, all with steadfast loyalty to and real love for the city of their choice, constantly proclaimed her commercial advantages and her

growth; and zealously set forth the healthfulness of our climate, the beauty of our scenery, the vastness and productivity of our tributary country. This was done mostly in the local columns.

It is no disparagement to others to say, however, that no man ever wrote in St. Paul's behalf so ably, so brilliantly, so continuously, and so voluminously, as Joseph A. Wheelock. His characteristically able and brilliant articles written in promotion of St. Paul's interests would alone make a huge volume. Add to this his zealous advocacy of all measures or enterprises beneficial to the city, and his unflinching opposition to all mistaken or corrupt schemes prejudicial to the city; consider also our peerless park system, which is and is to be ours mainly through his instrumentality; and you will agree with me, that to no man is St. Paul a larger debtor.

THE PRESENT AND PAST BUILDERS OF THE CITY.

There are two real estate firms (one of them now more interested in the construction and operation of railroads than in real estate) which have largely contributed to the growth and prosperity of the city in another direction.

Oppenheim & Kahlman have done more than any other individual or firm to induce large investments of eastern capital, and thereby to secure the building of many large, splendid business blocks, which today give character to the city.

The other firm mentioned are Smith & Taylor, who have for several years built great numbers of comfortable, tasteful dwellings. They are still astonishing all who go out on the Selby cars with the scores of new houses in course of construction. I hope they will continue the good work, and that many will follow their example.

It would be interesting, if I had time, to go more fully into the changes of business and residence centers, and to philosophize upon their causes, for such changes do not accidentally occur; to note the early development of Dayton's Bluff, and its abated growth; the sudden upbuilding of the "Merriam Hill district," and causes of its arrested growth; the development and constantly accelerated growth of the "St. Anthony Hill dis-

trict," and its causes; the development of the "Midway district," with its beautiful homes, its handsome boulevards, its numerous educational institutions, and its rapidly increasing industries around "the Transfer;" the sudden transformation of "West St. Paul" (now the Sixth ward) from a village of a few hundred inhabitants to a populous district of 15,000 to 20,000, with many beautiful homes and a large and rapidly increasing business.

I have been able only to glance at the marvelous growth of the city. From 1847 to 1857 there was an average growth of more than 200 per cent. per year. From 1860 onward we boast of an increase of 100 per cent. in ten years, and were crazed by an increase of 200 per cent. from 1880 to 1890.

An interesting story of the wild speculations of those early days could be told, a story of fabulous profits in a few months, millions made and millions lost in a few years. For it will not do to say it was not profit, that it was all fictitious value. When population mounts from less than 100 to 10,000 in eight years, with all the resulting improvements, there must be enormous increase of values. And so there was, but men were made delirious; they failed to see the limitations necessarily attached to such conditions; they bought and built, and made notes and mortgages, as if this rapid growth and advance in values would continue indefinitely.

They waked from their dream in 1857, and a sad, sad story is that of the next few years. We reached in that panic year the mouth of the cave of gloom and despair; let us not enter it, as we would not have time to go through the dark years and come out into the sunlight of more prosperous years.

'T is a world of pity that nearly every one of those bold, adventurous pioneers, who laid the foundation of our city so well, and who had millions in their easy grasp, died poor. We who knew them may stop and sigh our regrets at their misfortunes, and drop a tear to their memories; but the world moves on with constantly accelerating speed.

The yesterdays are far back of the todays, and the todays are doubtless but a faint prophecy of the tomorrows. The sciences of the few have become the common knowledge of the many. The secrets of the laboratories as to the forces of nature are now

the applied agencies of transportation and commerce and manufactures, and are made the common conveniences of the household and of the business world.

Irrigation and the application of chemistry and electricity to agriculture shall increase many fold the food products of the country, enabling it to support a far larger population than now. One-third of that population, according to the indications of the census reports, will dwell in cities, enlarging them to proportions not yet dreamed of; and the young men listening to me tonight will live to see the Twin Cities closely grown together, with a population larger than the most hopeful have yet thought it prudent to predict.

The growth in population, commerce, and wealth, will surely come. Let it be your duty and your pride to make our city beautiful, worthy of the noble setting which nature has given it.

444-445

THE FIRST RAILROAD IN MINNESOTA.*

BY COL. WILLIAM CROOKS.

The Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company was succeeded by the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, and afterward passed under control of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railroad Company, which in turn became the Great Northern Railway Company. The St. Paul and Pacific company also controlled a line from St. Paul to Winona, in the valley of the Mississippi.

After the Territorial Legislature had given the charter, and Congress a land grant in aid of the construction of this railroad, the company, by ruling of the Interior Department at Washington, under the grant to Minnesota, was declared entitled to one hundred and twenty sections of land, in advance of construction.

In 1857 the line of railway was located from Stillwater by way of St. Paul and St. Anthony Falls to a point near Big Stone lake, on the western boundary of the State, then about to be admitted to the Union, and was also located from the Falls of St. Anthony to Crow Wing by the way of St. Cloud.

In 1858, under a contract with Mr. Selah Chamberlain, of Cleveland, Ohio, sixty-two and a half miles of the road from St. Paul north were graded and bridged, and the cross ties for a large portion of the line were delivered. The right of way was, in the main, secured by the company. This work, however, was suspended, owing to a battle made by interested or badly disposed people against the faith and credit of the State of Minnesota, rendering powerless the grantees of the State's credit, who held its bonds under the provision of the $5,000,000 Loan Bill, so called.

Matters remained in a condition of uncertainty as to the prosecution of the work upon this and other lines of railroad in

*Read at the monthly meeting of the Executive Council, Feb. 8, 1904.

the State, until the people, having lost faith, were turning their faces eastward in abandonment of their instituted settlement. It appeared necessary at such a time to make an appeal to the Legislature in order to keep alive the franchise of the company by providing against forfeiture or merger of its privileges. The company took this appeal in the winter of 1860-61, and the Legislature granted to it an extension of time.

In the meantime, negotiations had been conducted by the Hon. Edmund Rice, who was the head and front, and the heart and soul, of every effort put forth to rescue the State from a condition which simply meant ruin to all. It was to Mr. J. Edgar Thompson, who at that time was president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and to the associates of that gentleman, that Mr. Rice presented plans which sought to induce the active support and co-operation of these gentlemen in carrying the projected lines to a successful issue; and, as a result thereof, Mr. Oliver W. Barnes, a distinguished civil engineer, was sent to Minnesota to examine into the condition of the partially constructed railroad, as well as to equip himself with reliable information concerning the value of the enterprise as a whole.

Mr. Barnes had made a favorable report, and on a Sunday morning, early in May, 1861, Mr. Edmund Rice and myself embarked on the steamer "Golden Era" on our way via La Crosse to Philadelphia for the purpose of conference with the gentlemen there in the hope of consummating an arrangement which would insure the building of the railroad and lay the foundation for the return of some hope to the people of the State. At Philadelphia negotiations were resumed and proceeded in a very satisfactory manner. Governor Alex. Ramsey, then governor of Minnesota, was in Washington and was requested to make the journey to Philadelphia in order to lend his powerful influence in supporting Mr. Rice's efforts, and also to assure Mr. Thompson and his associates that the laws under which the railroad would be built should receive on his part, as executive, most liberal construction. It is needless to say that the governor did in this instance, as in all cases involving the honor and interest of the State of Minnesota, what he deemed best.

The Hon. John M. Barber of New York, as Mr. Rice's counsel, was also at Philadelphia, assisting in drawing the papers preliminary to the execution of the same by the respective parties,

who had agreed upon terms and conditions which seemed to promise the realization of the hopes of the gentlemen controlling the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company.

These negotiations carried us along until the early days of June, 1861, and on the eighth day of that month, feeling that we could be spared for a few days, Mr. Rice and myself took the train for New York. We had already, of course, had a warning of danger through the episode of the bombardment of Fort Sumter; but we had received the assurance of our leading statesmen that this was the act only of unruly South Carolina, and that this *emeute* would be put down in ninety days. Such were the expressions of Mr. Seward and others high in the estimation of the people, that gave hope and confidence enough in the future to justify the undertaking of affairs of magnitude.

Arriving in New York at a time of great excitement, we attended to our personal affairs for a couple of days. On the morning of the 11th of June the news of the battle at Big Bethel was handed to us as we were going to breakfast, and the next mail brought letters from Philadelphia, stating that, under the circumstances, all negotiations would have to remain in abeyance indefinitely, because, from appearances, the war might not be ended for many years. And so we were absolutely stranded, hope gone, and apparently nothing to do but return home and meet a disappointed people.

Just at this time, however, I made the acquaintance in New York, quite accidentally, of Messrs. Winters, Harshman, and Drake, residents of Ohio. These gentlemen, with the exception of Mr. Drake, were bankers and capitalists, and were in New York looking for some investment. On account of a long acquaintance with Colonel Andrew De Graff, they were negotiating with him in reference to building the Winona and St. Peter railroad; but, as the colonel informed me that they had not money enough to accomplish all that was necessary in the case of this road, he introduced them to me, believing that I could interest them in the construction of the St. Paul and Pacific railroad between St. Paul and St. Anthony Falls.

After consultation with Mr. Rice and conference with the gentlemen aforesaid, an agreement was reached, whereby they were to furnish means of building the railroad from St. Paul to the Falls of St. Anthony. They were to visit St. Paul at an early

date, and, if an examination of the whole business proved to be as good and fair as had been represented, then they were to enter into a formal contract; but if they should be disappointed in the examination, we obliged ourselves to reimburse them for their time and expense in visiting Minnesota.

In due time the gentlemen arrived and made a careful examination of the line of road, its legal status, etc., and were willing to state that we had not told half of what we might have stated with entire veracity. Thereupon they proceeded to deposit with the governor of the State, as required by law, $14,000, and entered into a contract with the railroad company, as heretofore stated.

They were to receive for the work of completing the grade, track, and the furnishing of rolling stock, first mortgage gold bonds, drawing eight per cent. interest and running twenty years, at the rate of $12,000 per mile, making an aggregate of $120,000 in bonds; and they were further to receive all the lands to which at that time the company could make title, aggregating 76,800 acres, which body of land commenced in the county of Hennepin and extended northwesterly through what is today properly the Garden of Minnesota. There were difficulties encountered in carrying this agreement into effect, because of some right of way which had not been secured in the city of St. Paul. This caused a delay of nearly a year from the time work was commenced in the fall of 1861; but further legislation, during the winter of 1861-62, enabled the company to proceed, and the line was finished and put into operation between St. Paul and the Falls of St. Anthony in the early days of July, 1862.

Under the provisions of this contract, two locomotives and some passenger and freight cars were furnished. This line was laid with iron rails of forty-five pounds to the yard, steel rails being unknown at that time. The locomotives were of only twenty-five tons capacity, wood burners. The first locomotive engine was named after myself, and the second after Mr. Edmund Rice. These engines were the first that turned a wheel in the State of Minnesota.

Now I have told the story of the completion of the first ten miles of railroad in this State; and I trust that, going forward from my narrative, further information may be gathered and published, which will complete the history of this pioneer railroad.

4583